CONTENTS

ARTICLES AND NOTES

General
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AUTHORS

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Pub
and
101

HM
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SOCIOMETRY

A Journal of Inter-Personal Relations and Experimental Design

A QUARTERLY

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

Sociometry, Vol. XIV, No. 2:

SOCIOMETRY

A Journal of Inter-Personal Relations and Experimental Design

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

The title of a scientific journal should be the shortest expression of its policy. When the title of this journal *"Sociometry"* was selected in the latter part of 1936 it was Gardner Murphy, its first Editor, who suggested that an undertitle be added: "A Journal of Inter-Personal Relations," as this might indicate to the readers a larger area of research.

Today, after fifteen years, the original policy as expressed in its title has lost none of its vigor, except that meanwhile, due to the very influence which sociometry has exerted upon the various branches of social science, most journals in this field in the United States as well as in other English speaking countries have opened their pages to papers dealing with sociometric methods, including, among others, the sociometric test, role playing, sociodrama, psychodrama and group psychotherapy.

This fortunate development has stimulated us to pay increased attention to the area of research with which sociometry has identified itself from the very beginning—the area of experimental design in the social sciences. Because of the growing need for deepening our knowledge in this area and in order to emphasize our desire to be of service we have broadened the title of this journal, to be known henceforth as *Sociometry, A Journal of Inter-Personal Relations and Experimental Design.*

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EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

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LABORATOIRE D'EXPERIMENTATION SOCIOMETRIQUE ET PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGIQUE

Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes

VIe Section

Sciences Economiques et Sociales
Sorbonne

It will be of interest to the readers of this journal and to all workers in the field to know that a new center for sociometric research entitled Laboratoire d'Experimentation Sociometrique et Psycho-Sociologique (Laboratory of Sociometric and Socio-Psychological Research) has been established at the University of Paris.

The following statements are excerpts from correspondence received from F. Braudel, Secretary of the Sixth Section, and L. Febvre, President of the Sixth Section, addressed to the Sociometric Institute:

"J'ai le plaisir de vous informer que la VIe Section de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Sorbonne) ayant pris en consideration vos propositions, a decidé d'integrer dans son organisation, un *Laboratoire d'Experimentation Sociometrique et Psycho-Sociologique* qui sera controlé par le Conseil de la Section.

"Le laboratoire sera inaugure au debut du mois d'octobre 1951. La VIe Section lui accorde gratuitement des locaux 54, rue de Varenne, et met a sa disposition l'usage du personnel technique.

"M. Jean MAISONNEUVE sera le *secretaire-administrateur* du Laboratoire dont le travail sera guide par un Comite Scientifique qui sera probablement constitue commesuit: F. BRAUDEL (Secretaire de la VIe Section), L. FEBVRE (President de la VIe Section), G. GURVITCH, G. LE BRAS, C. LEVI-STRAUSS, J. MEYERSON, H. PIERON, POYER, H. WALLON. Secretaire du Comite: Paul H. MAUCORPS."

"Nous avons l'honneur de vous informer que nous invitons le Dr. J. L. MORENO, directeur de l'Institut Sociometrique a service d'agent de liaison entre le Laboratoire en question et l'Institut Americain, et nous le remercions d'avoir accepte cette fonction."

<div style="text-align:right">

Sociometric Institute, New York
(Now Moreno Institute)

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WORKING OUTLINE OF A COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH PROGRAM

Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Marcia Lifshitz
Rutgers University
The State University of New Jersey

The trend of mass communications research has been largely that of developing systematic measures of attitudes and reactions, and of applying these measures to aggregates of individuals ("audiences") who are classified, if at all, with reference to personal characteristics, such as age, or broad social categories, such as economic level. Useful as these measures may have been, they have been inadequate for obtaining a rounded understanding of the influence of communications. Our aim, therefore, has been to introduce another element, hitherto taken for granted or ignored, based on the obvious fact that these individuals may also be analyzed with reference to their differential relations to the social structure, hypothesizing that like-statused or similarly integrated individuals would tend also toward certain similarities in their communications behavior. The importance of such an approach has been recognized by scholars in various fields, but little empirical research has been done on this problem so far.

Proceeding on the general hypothesis that group relationships constitute an important variable in mass communications research, our research program has during the past year completed a series of three field survey projects among children, tentative findings of which are now assembled in three documents[1] and summarized below. Our analysis so far has led to a further formulation of the general hypothesis which combines in the concept of group relationship the two components of *membership* in the group and use of the group as a point of *reference*.[2] It is our ultimate objective to study the interplay between such a concept of group relationship, on the one hand, and the selection, acceptance, rejection, or distortion of mass media messages, on the other, since it is our belief that this might even-

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[1] "Group Relations as a Variable in Communications Research," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1951; and two unpublished working papers entitled, "Patterns of Interpersonal Communication Among Youth" and "Sharing of Values as Related to Interpersonal Communications."

[2] In line with developing reference group theory as in Newcomb, *Social Psychology* and Merton and Kitt, "Reference Group Theory in the *American Soldier*," in *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of the "American Soldier."* Free Press, 1950.

11

tually lead to the development of methods for measuring the influence of mass communications upon the individual's overall value patterns.

Within this larger program our immediate research objectives have to do with the relation between:

a) This concept of *group relationship* as applied to the relation between the child and two significant and sometimes conflicting primary groups, the family and the peer group(s), a concept which in itself needs further formulation and development.

b) Certain selected *expressions or symbols of values,* drawn from the mass media field, used for the present primarily to throw further light on the meaning of the group relationship (a), and for future reference as a first operating approach to the questions of values as they are derived from mass media.

This conceptual scheme is shown in Table A. In this table columns

TABLE A

GROUP RELATIONSHIP AS A VARIABLE AFFECTING TRENDS IN SELECTION OF PERCEPTION OF EXPRESSIONS OF VALUES

With sex and age held constant, if respondents are classified and arranged according to group relationship, as follows:

Category No.	(1) Relation to Membership Group (a) Peer Communi- cation Score	(b) Reciprocity in Peer Communi- cations	(2) Relation to Reference Group Similarity in Value Patterns Primarily with:	(3) —we should then expect their selection or perception of values, as expressed in mass media, to follow these trends:	
1			Parents	"Deviant" forms of specific Adult values	"Deviant" forms of specific Youth values
2	Low	——	Parents & Peers		
3			Peers		
4		Seekers	Parents		
5			Parents & Peers	"Conformity" to specific values of Youth culture ("mediocrity")	
6			Peers		
7	High	Accepted	Peers		
8			Peers & Parents		
9			Parents		
10		Sought after	Peers	"Conformity" to specific Adult values	"Deviant" forms of specific Youth values
11			Peers & Parents		
12			Parents		

(1) and (2) classify individuals in relation to both family and peer groups, regarded respectively first *qua* membership group and second *qua* reference group. Column (3) shows the trends in acceptance of perception of selected mass media expressions of values as we should now expect them to emerge.

Column (1a) in the table represents the extent of interpersonal communication, or verbal interaction, between the individual and the peer group(s) to which he belongs or aspires. This is conceived:

—*first*, as a measure of the extent to which he *shares* frames of reference with his peers.[3]

It should further be pointed out that, while the individual children are to varying degrees integrated or not integrated into peer groups, they all belong to family groups.[4] Therefore, they all share, or have shared, certain frames of reference with their parents. The peer communication score is, then, also conceived:

—*second*, as a measure of the extent to which the child *has a choice* between the frames of reference of his peers and those of his parents.

Column (1b), showing the extent to which such interpersonal communication with peers is reciprocal, represents the stages in the process of group integration. "Seekers" are those who express a higher peer communication score than they receive, and are thus regarded as aspiring to a degree of peer group integration which they have not yet achieved. "Sought after" children, those who receive a higher score than they express, are accepted as full peer group members but do not reciprocate completely, and hence may aspire or belong to some new type of group (presumably more adult). Somewhere between the categories of "seeker" and "sought after" is believed to lie the stage of strongest motivation toward affiliation with the peer group. Thus, those children with a high communication score (1a) are reclassified according to the stage of their integration into the peer group as a membership group.

Column (2) further breaks down each of these categories of children according to the overall value patterns to which they say they aspire, classifying these values on an empirical basis as perceived essentially as those of their parents or as those of their peers. Children who verbalize parent values primarily are assumed to tend toward use of parents as a

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[3] Cf. Newcomb's dictum that communication is made possible by shared frames of reference. *Social Psychology*, pp. 291 ff. and *passim*.

[4] As the peer communication score goes up, we have found the adult communication score tends to remain fairly constant.

major reference group; children who espouse peer values are conceived as leaning toward the peer group as a point of reference. In cases where reference groups and peer groups coincide (as in categories 6, 7, or 10), we may describe the similarity in values as between the individual and the group as "value sharing," since it occurs within a shared frame of reference; where the two do not coincide, as in the case of those who espouse peer values but do not belong to peer groups (category 3), we should expect the apparent similarity in values between individual and peer groups to tend to appear at the verbal level only, since it does not occur within a shared frame of reference, may not rest upon a common definition, and is thus subject to distortion into deviant forms. In respect to the intensity of value sharing between the individual and the peer group, we should expect to find this at its peak near the center of the array, concomitant with the stage of strongest motivation toward peer group affiliation (Column 1a).

In line with such a classification of individuals according to their group relationship, it is now hypothesized that the child's reaction to certain value expressions or symbols, as selected from mass media, will tend to operate as a dependent variable. This hypothesis concerns specifically:

a) the selection, acceptance, or rejection of mass media figures or messages as they may appear to embody specific values belonging either in the adult culture or in the youth culture; and

b) the tendency to perceive or accept such values in forms of expression which may be classified as either "conformist" or "deviant."[5]

Thus it is now predicted, as Column 3 indicates, that expressions or symbols of adult values will tend to be of relatively little interest to those children classified near the center of the array, but will give place to interest in expressions of youth culture values; whereas categories 1 and 12 will tend toward greatest interest in expressions of adult values. At the same time, category 1, the low communicators who lean toward parent reference groups, will be most apt to perceive or accept these adult values in various deviant forms; while those at the other end of the array (category 12) will be most apt to perceive them as the adult conformist perceives them, in terms of their immediate function for group living. This tendency is

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[5] Cf. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, and our survey findings in *Group Relations as a Variable in Communications Research*. Also the current unpublished work of Talcott Parsons as it broadens and extends Merton's conformist-deviant classification.

believed to follow logically from the earlier statement that the high communicator has the greatest choice between frames of reference of his parents and his peers, so that he need share adult values only as a result of his own choice, voluntarily, and presumably because of the apparently greater legitimacy or usefulness of the values.

In respect to media expressions or symbols of youth culture values, it is hypothesized that the low communicators will be relatively apt to perceive or accept them in deviant forms, since the lows by definition share frames of reference with their peers to the least possible extent, and thus have least opportunity to share in the group definitions of these values or to conform to them. The most rigid conformity to the mediocrity values of the youth culture is expected to be found somewhere toward the center of the array, among those who verbalize peer values and are also at the stage of still seeking or maintaining a high degree of integration with the peer group. Here, shared frames of peer reference are high (Col. 1a), and at the same time motivation toward peer group affiliation is at its peak (Col. 1b). The high sought after children who use peer reference groups would, again, be expected to perceive or accept peer values in somewhat deviant forms of media expression, as the greatest freedom of choice between peer and adult frames of reference is reached.

It is further understood that, since such relationships between individuals and their membership-reference groups exist within a larger social structure, research should insofar as possible be set up to observe the operation of such other factors as:

Certain broad categories, such as sex, age, and socio-economic level, within which the individual belongs and which tend to delimit his primary group affiliations, and to define their nature.

The larger social aggregates to which he belongs (such as school system, community) and within which his primary group relationships operate. In the present instance, the class room aggregate can also be classified in terms of the overall amount and kind of peer group structuring for analysis with reference to the central hypothesis.

On the basis of the preliminary research carried on thus far at Rutgers, however, a substantial list of further hypotheses and implications have already stemmed from this basic hypothesis that group relations affect communications behavior. Although *in no sense definitive,* selected items from this list are given below simply because they are suggestive and provocative for further research:

1. In mass media behavior, any member of the audience may react, not

merely as an individual, but also as a member of the various groups to which
he belongs (or aspires) and with which he communicates—

    a) in re media selection

    b) in re impact of the message.

  2. This suggests that the communication concept should be used to include

    —mass media *and* personal communication

    —specific messages *and* their underlying values

    —initial impact *and* ultimate influence.

  3. The values of mass media messages appear to be accepted, rejected, or
distorted in line with the values of the significant reference groups to which
the recipient belongs, or to which he aspires:

    a) *mediocrity* values of peer-oriented children appear to affect their
        media choices and perceptions

    b) *anomie* of non-peer-oriented children appears to affect theirs.

  4. Peer orientation seems to go with a tendency to experience the content
of mass media in terms of its immediate function for group life; this may
indicate a higher ability to internalize values and put them to work, or to
accept values only insofar as they can be so internalized.

  5. The function of the mediocrity norms of the peer-oriented seems to be:

    —to maintain the *group* in equilibrium by preventing large disparities
       in status

    —to provide *personal* standards which are fairly easy of achievement,
       thus allowing few to feel sub-standard, but which tend to level off
       aspirations and to modify individual tendencies toward excellence.

  6. The *anomie* of the less peer-oriented appears to be related to admiration
of, and interested in, various forms of deviant behavior as expressed in mass
media.

  7. Since groups are assumed to be an integral part of the process of com-
munication, it becomes important to discover the relation between social struc-
ture and mobility, on the one hand, and communication patterns, on the other;
to determine which elements in social structure operate toward, or away from,
the effective transmission or perpetuation of values; and, in turn, what is the
effect of this communication of values upon the social structure itself.

  8. There appears to be a wide variation in the structure of communication
groupings, and in the relation of individuals to these groupings under differing
conditions (e.g., differing levels of age, sex, differing degrees of authoritarian-
ism in the environment, etc.).

  9. These variations in structure seem to be related to the way the group
functions in facilitating communications and the transmission of values, e.g.,

    —boys tend to communicate with adults and on adult topics, rela-
       tively more than girls; does this mean that peer groups among boys,
       since they overlap more with adult groupings, will function as an
       intermediate stage toward adulthood?

    —boys and girls communicate relatively little with each other; does
       this mean two separate youth cultures, one for boys and one for
       girls?

—girls apparently tend to become more and more immersed in peer groups as they grow older, and to become more preoccupied with peer topics; does this mean that peer groups among girls tend to form a sub-culture which is out of line with the process of growth toward adult culture, thus operating dysfunctionally in this respect?

10. Since variations in group structure may be important to an understanding of the communications process, it is necessary to develop measures of such variations:

—the "communications score" has already been found useful, but requires further subdivision on larger samples according to degree of reciprocity ("seeker"—"sought after") in order to take into account the dynamics of change in group structure

—other non-verbal channels of possible inter-personal influence ("actual association," "leadership") have been experimented with

—various indexes for observing differing group structures of different social aggregates, and for observing changes over time, have been suggested.

11. High communicators are apparently more apt than low to perceive themselves as sharing the present values of the youth culture, which indicates that interpersonal communication, implying shared frames of reference as it does, also implies the same goals and values.

12. High communicators, as compared with low, may perceive less overall conflict between the values of their parents and of the youth culture; may perceive their parents' expectations that they meet certain adult standards as less rigid; may be more apt, in a conflict situation, to take an action which they perceive as a compromise; and seems to yield other evidence which tends to confirm point 4 above.

13. Low communicators, as compared with high, apparently tend to be readier to shift their own behavior standards in line with changes in the immediate pressures of the situation. This would help to confirm earlier evidence (6 above) that tendencies toward deviant behavior are more pronounced among the lows.

14. The shift from one membership group to another group with somewhat differing values (family group to peer group) seems to imply rejection of those values of the old group which conflict with the new; but *not* necessarily the rejection of other values where there is no such conflict.

15. Similarly, high *peer* orientation at the adolescent level appears by no means to preclude a high degree of *parent* influence on the child's *future* adoption of adult values; the high communicators seem to perceive themselves as sharing their parents' views on their future aspirations.

16. In view of 14 and 15, the effect of the child's peer orientation on the family group would not necessarily be that of converting it into an out-group (with possible resultant signs of counter-hostility, or confusion, disorganization, etc.).

17. The relation between peer-orientation and the nature and degree of value sharing with adults seems to vary markedly with the *conditions* under

which the peer grouping exists. *Sex* appears in the present materials (in which only one homogeneous age category is used) to be an important conditioning factor. Various sex differences, according to present indications, may be:

> —girls communicate relatively more with peers, boys relatively more with adults (point 9 above)
>
> —girls perceive greater conflict between values of adults and of the youth culture; and the environment as generally more punitive.

18. In line with 17, it is, in general, the *high boys* and the *low girls* who so far appear to be more apt to share present parent values than are either the low boys or the high girls.

> This raises the question whether similarity to parent values may not be quite a different matter for the highs, on the one hand, and the lows, on the other: Highs have a choice between two major reference groups— parents and peers. Thus, to the extent that they choose parent values, they would appear to do so voluntarily, presumably because they regard them as more legitimate or useful. Lows, not having a similar freedom of choice, may tend merely to be forced to submit to adult standards, which are thus superimposed, rather than being understood, elected, inter- nalized, and put to work.

This would mean that it is the high boys who, of the four categories, are nearest to mature adjustment to adult values (see also 19).

19. *Girls* may be more apt than boys to regard youth culture values as out of line with their own aspirations for themselves as adults. This would suggest that:

> —while youth culture among boys may be serving functionally as part of a continuous transition toward ultimate adult-value orientation
>
> —among girls, it may tend to serve dysfunctionally in this respect (although it undoubtedly serves other functions), one of which may well be to "degroup"—Merton's term—them from the family so that they learn to adjust to new groups and to new values before being confronted with the final adjustment to adulthood.

20. Orientation to the values of a new group appears to have quite a different effect on the value patterns of the mobile *girls* or *boys* respectively. Girls who are "seeking" membership in a peer group seem to emulate its values (although in less degree than do the accepted members of the group). Boy "seekers," on the other hand, seem to have utter disregard for youth culture values, as if it were fellowship in the group which motivated them, with value sharing following later after group acceptance is secured.

21. To sum up, the background of values against which communicated messages will be accepted, rejected, or distorted (see 3 above) is shared in part with parents and other adults, and in part with peer groups. The nature and degree of such sharing depends both upon the individual's relation to such groups, and upon the broader conditions within which these groups are operative.

Such are some of the implications and hypotheses to date. Highly

tentative as they are, they strongly suggest the potential productivity of such a research approach as has been outlined. The most constructive next steps, consequently, would appear to center about a program, in line with the conceptual framework in Table A, which would attempt (1) to translate into operating terms, using large enough samples, the twelve-fold group relationship classification suggested here, or some modification or improvement of it; (2) to select certain widely-known value expressions or symbols, from mass media, and classify them in advance as belonging either to the adult culture or the youth culture, and again as either conformist or deviant; and (3) to make predictions as to the acceptance or perception of these values, as related to the group classification, and then (4) to test these predictions.

THE HUMAN GROUP: A CRITICAL REVIEW WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR SOME ALTERNATE HYPOTHESES

MARIA ROGERS

Committee on Autonomous Groups

During the past ten or fifteen years, many studies of small human groups have appeared in sociometric literature. A variety of approaches and methods have been used to gather the data and to each study the researcher has duly appended the conclusions to be drawn from his data. Many of us interested in this field have long wished for a synthesis of these generalizations, and have played with the idea of taking a few studies, such as Moreno's of the Hudson Training School for Girls, Loomis' of Dyess Colony, Danielsson's of a head hunter's village, Sanders' of a Bulgarian village, and examining them afresh to discover what generalizations are common to all of them. But while we have been thinking about making such a synthesis, Dr. George Homans* of the Department of Social Relations at Harvard University has actually carried the project to completion. It will be fascinating for all of us who wished for a synthesis to compare the tentative generalizations we have made with those Homans' book presents.

The author's wit, sophistication, and literary skill place this volume in the class of scientific books that can be read with pleasure as well as profit. Social scientists produce too few such books nowadays—books like William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* or Freud's *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*—which enable intelligent laymen as well as colleagues to keep abreast of new thinking in psychology, sociology, and anthropology.

The reactions of many of Mr. Homans' fellow sociologists to his unequivocal emphasis upon the importance of study of the small human group will, in all probability, be less than enthusiastic, despite Prof. Robert Merton's tactful and commendatory Introduction. His statements that "sociologists have neglected study of ordinary, everyday social behavior", "have pursued the higher branches of their science before the trunk was strong", and "have not made as much progress as they might have", will not be welcomed by sociologists for whom study of the characteristics of composite social systems like communities, cities, regions, and nations, of problems amenable to the categorical questionnaire or field schedule, comprise the whole of the science. Sociometrists, however, will acclaim the

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* George Homans, *The Human Group*. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1950.

emphasis of this book, for it is they who have, since 1934 with publication of Moreno's *Who Shall Survive?*, adhered to the doctrine that study of society must begin with study of interpersonal relations, with the ties of feeling and activity that link human beings together in small social systems.

Mr. Homans is concerned with the paucity of theory in sociology and his book is a bold effort to state a new theory that provides a general form in which the results of particular observations may be expressed. He regards a theory, not as a formula describing a particular set of observed facts— as do many sociologists and other social scientists—but as an attempt to *explain* or *understand* observed fact. For him, apparently, significant problems in the sciences of man are problems of emergent structures, of changing relationships, of interacting forms, of emergent patterns. With this perspective, solution of research problems depends, not upon exact numerical measurements—for which there is now such a vogue in sociology—but rather upon attaining precision of structural insight. His book is an exciting adventure in communication as he traces for the reader, one by one, the steps that lead to this kind of insight.

The author chose for application of his method of analysis and synthesis five recent studies of small human groups, each of a different type. They are: (1) a group of factory-workers distinguished as the Bank Wiring Observation Room in *Management and the Worker*; (2) an autonomous group of young men known as the Norton Street Gang in *Street Corner Society*; (3) an extended family or household in *We, The Tikopia*, a study of kinship in a primitive society; (4) a New England community of 1,000 population described in a Ph.D. thesis, *Changes in the Structure and Function of a Rural New England Community Since 1900*; (5) a small manufacturing company that was the subject of a report, *Determination of Morale in an Industrial Company*, published in *Applied Anthropology*.

Mr. Homans identifies five different elements common to all the groups and analyzes their operation in each group. They are: *interaction, sentiment, activity, norms* (i.e., ideas of what the behavior of the members of a group ought to be, ideas partly derived from, and closely related to, assumptions or values the members bring with them into the group), and the *environment* in which the group arises and differentiates itself from the surrounding population. Each element is a variable, not a static entity.

The elements are loosely defined. They were selected for analysis because the material revealed them to be operative in each group and the underlying relationships between them could be clearly brought out. It is not contended that no other elements are involved in the highly complex

process termed "the life of a group"; nor does Mr. Homans attempt to assign absolute values to each element.

The analysis demonstrates the essential, inalienable interdependence of these five elements as long as the group survives. Mr. Homans thus validates the hypothesis that *small human groups are social systems,* organic wholes, sets of interdependent variables so organized that if a change takes place in one element, changes are precipitated in the other elements and in the interdependent relationships between them. He then shows that *the relations of the elements to one another in the system bring about the evolution of the system with the passage of time.* This being true, it follows that changes in systems can be explained by changes in the elements of which they are composed and by consequent changes in the relations of the elements to one another.

It should be emphasized that the relationships with which Mr. Homans is concerned are internal rather than external, covert rather than overt, inferred or projected on the basis of direct observation rather than directly observed. He has moved away as far as possible from behaviorism and sterile objectivity—those offspring of Positivism—based on the mistaken assumption that we can observe directly all that is worth knowing about human behavior, an assumption still all too prevalent in social science. Readers will recognize in this Mr. Homans' indebtedness to Alfred North Whitehead, an indebtedness he specifically acknowledges.

The full value of Mr. Homans' method of study is revealed by his illuminating analysis of social control, a favorite subject of discussion by social scientists in the past, discussion that has produced little understanding of the phenomenon. Mr. Homans shows that the external behavior we observe and label "social control" is not a thing-in-itself, not a "function" of a group, but is instead *inherent or implicit in the relations between the five elements of behavior* that make the group a dynamic configuration. Changes in any one of the elements and consequent changes in the relationships between them are reflected in weakening or strengthening of social control. It is impossible in the brief space of a review to do justice to Mr. Homans' discussion of this subject. One can do no more than note its exceptional brilliance and logical competence.

Social change and social control are only two of the phenomena that Mr. Homans shows are inherent in the relations between these five elements of behavior. Another is leadership. He argues convincingly that leadership evolves spontaneously through the dynamic relations between the norms of a group, its activities, its sentiments, and the interactions between members. *All* of the elements operate—or cooperate—to create the phenom-

enon of leadership, not just one or two of them. All reinforce one another.

The contribution of this insight to analysis of the differences between "democratic" and "authoritarian" leadership cannot be overestimated. If leadership is not a thing-in-itself, but an overt manifestation of covert relationships between variable elements, the problem of replacing authoritarian leadership by democratic leadership—a problem that today troubles many occupation administrators and political theorists—can be solved only by discovering the peculiar patterns of relationship between variables that distinguish each type. Instead, it is generally proposed today that "training" in democratic leadership be initiated to meet and solve the problem. But this proposal is quite impractical, for it is based on an assumption that Mr. Homans shows cannot be made—i.e., that leadership can be abstracted from the complex of which it is an inherent component and that a student can learn how to exercise democratic leadership outside the set of relationships of which it is a product.

This is only one corollary to be drawn from Mr. Homans' book of theory. It demonstrates how much more "practical" are theoretical formulations based on inferences from observation that are mere descriptions of observed facts, although the latter have gained the reputation of corresponding to "reality", of being "concrete" and "factual". But there is infinitely more to social life than meets the eye and sociology will begin to make progress precisely to the degree that sociologists concern themselves with the internal structure of situations and project theories based on the results of such inquiries. Such theories can be tested by experiment, as mere general descriptions of facts cannot.

Social conflict, social disintegration, morale, and social equilibrium are other phenomena that Mr. Homans analyzes as sociodynamic configurations. He offers explanations of each in terms of the relations between his five variable elements. He thus justifies his emphasis upon the importance of taking the *small* human group as a unit for study. It is small enough for the scientist to "get all around it". This enables him to gain insight into a *variety of social phenomena*. It places him in a position to discover the interrelations of the phenomena and their relations to the internal organization of the component elements. If he studies any one of these phenomena by itself—for example, studies leadership alone or social disintegration alone, as has often been done—he misses their organic character and has no opportunity to discover the all-important fact of whether or not these crucial aspects of human behavior are interrelated. Without such comprehension, prediction is mere speculation.

Moreover, in studying the small human group, the social scientist studies the primary units in which human beings cohere, the units in which for untold millenia humanity has always cohered. No matter what the fate of the many civilizations that have risen and fallen in human history, society has never dissolved below the level of the small group and when a new climb back to civilization is made, it is made by the immemorial small group.

The weakest part of this stimulating book, in this reviewer's opinion, is Mr. Homans' discussion of the interrelation of liking and interaction. Warning the reader that liking has a relative and not an absolute value, he offers the hypothesis: "If the frequency of interaction between two persons increases, the degree of their liking for one another will increase" (pp. 111-112). Again, he says: "The more frequently persons interact with one another, the stronger their sentiments of friendship with one another are apt to be" (p. 133). And, further, he repeats: "A decrease in the frequency of interaction will bring about a decrease in the strength of inter-personal sentiments" (p. 361). He states it as a rule that: "Association breeds affection" (p. 242). The inference seems to be that liking is directly dependent upon, is determined by, interaction; to put it crudely, that liking is a response to interaction.

He qualifies the hypothesis by saying: (It) "holds good only as long as other things are equal". Among the other things, he mentions activity and authority and says that interaction and friendliness can be positively associated only on the assumption that activity is emotionally neutral, for if either person "behaves in an irritating way, interaction may increase negative rather than positive sentiments" (p. 116). In relations between superior and subordinate, "frequent interaction is not accompanied by friendliness"; authority tends to nullify the positive relationship between interaction and liking.

The material to which Mr. Homans addressed himself does not appear to this reviewer to support this hypothesis and it fails to explain other data to which reference will be made later in this review.

The methods used in the study of the Bank Wiring Observation Room precluded inquiry below the level of what could be noted by the professional observer. His methods did not permit determination of whether increased or decreased interaction played a part in increasing or decreasing liking.

The study of the New England community was not concerned with the internal organization of the small groups within the community but with its composite social systems—churches, business enterprises, etc. Al-

though this report yielded important data to support the hypotheses regarding the interrelationship between environment, activities, norms, sentiments, and interaction, it provided nothing upon which an hypothesis could be formulated concerning the interrelation of liking and interaction.

In regard to the study of the small manufacturing company, Mr. Homans comments: "We are not, in this case, studying the internal organization of a small group. . . . The investigators studied . . . the relation between public opinion in the company, on the one hand, and, on the other, changes in the way the company was organized to do its work. Thus they tell us only about the business contacts of the members of the upper group" (pp. 400-401). It is obvious that this report offers no data, one way or the other, to support the hypothesis in question.

Mr. Homans quotes the author of *We, The Tikopia*, to the effect that the Tikopia hold that "familiarity . . . certainly breeds attachment" (p. 242). A folk aphorism is entitled to great respect for it is a crystallization of observations made across centuries, but it cannot provide support for a scientific hypothesis. Science may, and usually does, validate folklore, but folklore is no help to science.

Material in *Street Corner Society* seems to this reader decisive in weakening Mr. Homans' hypothesis. Mr. Whyte reports on page 9, for instance, that Doc, the leader of the Norton Street gang said regarding Danny, one of his close lieutenants: "Danny lived on Stone Street, near Norton. I remember now the day when he came over to our street, when he was a small kid. . . . The fellows made fun of him, but I *liked the kid from the start. I told him to come along with our gang and do the things we did. He stuck with us.*" (My italics.) Mr. Whyte adds: "When the kids' gang broke up, Doc and Danny remained together." The inference seems justified that Doc's liking for Danny motivated increased interaction between the two and not vice versa. Presumably Danny also liked Doc.

On page 11 of Mr. Whyte's admirable study, he reports: "Fred and Lou both lived in the suburbs, but they drove into Eastern City for their part-time jobs and into Cornerville to join Doc and his friends." When Mr. Whyte says: "Fred and Lou were closely attached to Doc," this seems to answer the question of why they went to so much trouble to meet with the gang. When they moved away from the neighborhood of Norton Street, inertia could have counteracted habit, so habit as a positive factor in bringing about interaction with the gang can be discounted. So can advancement, economically or socially, because neither apparently played a part in cementing the ties between members of this particular group. Liking appears

to be a factor that impelled the men to make the extra effort to see Doc and his friends sufficiently frequently to maintain their position as members of the group.

This deduction is supported by what Mr. Whyte says later regarding the formation of the group: *"Close friendship ties already existed between certain of the men,* but the Nortons, as an organization, did not begin to function until the early spring of 1937. It was at that time that Doc returned to the corner. Nutsy, Frank, Joe, Alec, Carl, and Tommy *had great respect for Doc and gathered around him.* Angelo, Fred and Lou followed Doc in making the corner their headquarters. Danny and Mike were drawn to Norton Street *by their friendship for Doc* and by the location of their crap game, right next to the corner. Long John followed Danny and Mike." There is a record of several years of association between the last three, of a nature indicating genuine friendship. (All italics mine.)

The plain meaning of this paragraph is that several young men, some of whom liked each other and some of whom liked Doc, eventually formed a group and began the period of close association that Mr. Whyte studied. The evidence appears irrefutable that liking preceded formation of the group and the consequent increased frequency of interaction, not vice versa.

To cite material much of which is not published and has not, therefore, borne the test of scrutiny by competent social scientists, is not quite orthodox, but with this qualification I should like to refer to the files of the Committee on Autonomous Groups which for over a decade has been gathering information about one type of small human group. The pattern indicated above is duplicated time and again in the Committee's records. Whenever some members of a group move out of the neighborhood where the group is initiated, almost invariably they go back regularly and frequently to meet the other members, sometimes travelling long distances at great inconvenience. Change of residence appears to make little difference in maintaining frequency of interaction. Marriage, on the other hand, often interrupts and sometimes terminates interaction. If liking stimulates interaction, it is quite clear why marriage should interfere with frequency of interaction between members of a group—attachment to the marriage partner replaces other attachments. Cases are numerous in the Committee's records of men returning to their groups when the wife dies or the marriage breaks up. Usually, the married men keep up friendly relations with one or two other men in the group even when they do not participate in all group activities as of old. Thus the way is open for them to return when they feel the need to renew old ties held for a time in abeyance.

If Mr. Homans' proposition be accepted that liking is directly dependent upon, practically determined by, frequency of interaction, it would follow that as soon as frequency of interaction becomes difficult, groups break up. But our Committee's records show groups that persist for five, ten, fifteen and more years, despite the fact that no circumstances of the members' lives bring them together "naturally". More than that, members of such groups strain their resources, plan their lives, make sacrifices of time, energy, and money to achieve interaction. This behavior is not explained by Mr. Homans' hypothesis. It is necessary to make the assumption that liking of members for one another plays a definite part in maintenance of interaction.

The data gathered by the Committee shows that frequency of interaction increases members' *understanding* of one another's temperament, attitudes, etc., and that this is as likely to result in decrease of liking as the reverse, although rather than surrender the values the group yields, members may continue to interact.

There *are* situations in which increased interaction appears to increase liking. These are situations with which Mr. Homans—like all veterans—is familiar. It is one in which a number of human beings, not previously given the opportunity to choose one another's company, are placed in a position where they face physical danger, even extinction. "If they don't hang together, they will all hang separately", to paraphrase a famous quip of one of the Founding Fathers. Experience shows that with recognition of this compulsion, the individuals spontaneously constitute themselves a group, work together to achieve the common goal of survival and, in the course of the interaction thus forced upon them, develop sentiments of devotion, loyalty, etc. Often the sentiments outlast the interaction.

Are these sentiments consequences of interaction? Is it not possible that they are, rather, interdependently related to *the desire of each individual to save his own life?* Interaction in this situation is a *means* to attainment of a deep-seated desire. Is it not conceivable that the feelings of attachment and loyalty that appear to follow the interaction are actually related to this desire and not to the interaction?

It is characteristic of human beings that when an instrument used to achieve a purpose performs to their satisfaction, they grow fond of it. A violinist "loves" his fiddle, an author his old typewriter, a hunter his keen bird-dog. When, instead of violins, typewriters, and hunting-dogs, other human beings are instrumentalities through which a deep desire is attained, fondness of the same nature conceivably develops. It may shock our sensi-

bilities to admit that our fondness for the man who saves our life is of
that nature, but shock should not make us close our eyes to the possibility
that such may be the reality.

Interaction comes about because human beings have wants, desires,
aims, most of which can be satisfied or attained only with the cooperation
of others. Interaction is unavoidable if people act to fulfill their desires.
Primarily, therefore, interaction appears to be a *means* to an end although,
like every other form of human behavior, it can also become an end in itself.

To understand the relationship between liking and interaction, it seems
necessary to go back to the primary situation with which each human
being is confronted when born into society. He has wants, desires, and
aims—conscious and unconscious, rationalized and real. *What he wants, he
likes.* At this primary level, the two terms are almost interchangeable.
What he wants, he likes for itself or because he likes the sensation having
it will provide. To get what he wants necessitates activity. Human beings
seem so constituted that *they must like the activity as well as the aim* they
expect to attain. If a person wants something that involves distasteful
activity, he is as likely as not to give up satisfying the desire. This is so
true that much discipline to which children are subjected is directed towards
the very end of conditioning them to accept distasteful activity for the sake
of success in achieving their aims. And the number of "incentives" designed
to induce adults to undertake uncongenial tasks requisite to attain their
desires is legion.

When it comes to the persons needed for cooperation in activities, here
again human beings appear to show a tendency to choose the individuals
with whom they will cooperate; they choose those whom they "like". The
argument from discipline supports this generalization also. Many patterns
of discipline for children and "social control" of adults have been devised
to make them accept cheerfully *any* individual as a collaborator, but the
discipline is never more than partially effective, which seems to indicate
that a marked human tendency is being combatted. If a person wants
something but must work with persons he does not like to attain it, he
may well give up trying to get it. Liking thus suffuses the whole complex
involved in satisfying human needs or desires—the desire itself, the requisite
activities, the persons who cooperate.

To make increased interaction the effective condition for increase of
liking, as does Mr. Homans, seems to oversimplify the whole phenomenon.
Liking appears to be linked equally to the desire to attain whatever cooper-
ative activity is undertaken, to the activity contemplated, and to the persons

with whom the activity demands interaction. Possibly it can also become linked to the interaction, which then may come to be enjoyed for its own sake.

That liking is closely related to activity has been demonstrated by innumerable sociometric studies which have shown conclusively that preferences for collaborators vary with the activity to be undertaken. S, for example, chooses Y as a room-mate, Z as a companion on hikes, A, B, and C as team-mates for work, D to confide in, and F to marry. Given a specific activity as a criterion, the person is never in any doubt as to with whom he wishes to collaborate. Such facts have led sociometrists to conclude that the individual strives continuously within the limitations of culture and conditioning for freedom to choose collaborators, and they have demonstrated that when successful in this effort the individual's deepest reserves of creativity are released.

If the above considerations are valid, an hypothesis regarding the relationship between liking and interaction could be stated somewhat as follows: *If the number of activities in which two persons like each other as collaborators increases, the frequency of their interaction will tend to increase. The frequency of interaction will be an index of the degree of their liking for one another as collaborators.*

Fortunately, rejection of his hypothesis that frequency of interaction increases liking does not—so far as this reviewer can see at this writing—invalidate the set of hypotheses Mr. Homans offers regarding the interrelations between the five elements he studied. The hypothesis regarding liking occupies a subordinate place in the system. He indicates, moreover, in his discussion of the interrelation between activity and sentiment that he is fully aware of their mutual dependence. The vital point to clarify in endeavoring to understand group life is that all the elements comprising it are interrelated and indissoluble as long as the group survives. This clarification is the great achievement of Mr. Homans' book.

Before closing, attention should be drawn to two of Mr. Homans' most fruitful and brilliant discussions. In one of these he develops the concept of the "feed-back" or "build-up". This is the elaboration of activities and sentiments that a group makes on its own, so to speak, over and above what seems to be immediately required for its survival in its environment. This emergent surplus is available for development when the environment makes new demands on the group or the members demand new satisfactions from it. The group draws on the surplus to create conditions that enable it to survive at a new level. When this development is not interrupted, the

group grows in creativity and makes its own independent and unplanned contribution to the general culture and to social evolution. Indeed, Mr. Homans suggests that this emergent surplus for development may be the secret of that capacity for evolution so characteristic of all organic life (p. 272). Such elaboration seems to be characteristic of healthy groups, for Mr. Homans notes its absence in groups that are stagnant or disintegrating (Chap. 13).

The feed-back does not always contribute to progress; sometimes the forms the surplus takes hinder a group from making an adequate response to changes in its environment or in the expectations of members. These forms may cause conflict and set in motion the process of disintegration. All of these new conceptions of Mr. Homans' should become valuable assets in the anthropologists' effort to understand the forms a culture takes and the processes of cultural development and disintegration.

The concept of the feed-back breaks entirely new ground in the study of social organization. It seems to be a genuine sociological discovery, one that in all probability could not have been made except as a result of study of microscopic social units, where processes can be more easily detected than in large, complex units.

The other of Mr. Homans' illuminating discussions is that regarding the effect on interaction of the superior-subordinate relationship between individuals. It limits the amount of interaction, channels it, and restricts spontaneity of communication. In the absence of this relationship, interaction tends to be freer, more spontaneous, and more relaxed. It appears that the emergent surplus more readily develops under the latter conditions. Such a conception stimulates interesting speculations about human history. As a group stagnates without this surplus, free, spontaneous interaction is obviously a *sine qua non* for group development. This being so, it must also be a *sine qua non* for development of the society as a whole. The reserves built up by small groups are almost certainly reserves of the society as a whole. A society must possess such reserves if it is to meet with vigor the challenges of technological advance and major changes in its environment. This suggests that it is a matter of some moment to know what amount of free, spontaneous interaction is essential if a society is to survive when challenged. The superior-subordinate relationship appears to be a necessity in groups and in the society as a whole. But what is the maximum amount of hierarchical organization that a society can tolerate without destroying the emergent surplus developed by small groups on which it must rely for survival if challenged? We have no answer to this question as yet, but

on the testing-ground of human history, rigidly hierarchical societies, like that of the Incas of Peru, for example, appear often to have failed to meet a new and deadly challenge, whereas societies in which the leadership-principle is not completely dominant have fared better. Nevertheless, there is a great amount of agitation for predominantly hierarchical political organization in the interest of "human welfare".

The scope of this book is so broad that Mr. Homans can pass easily from his analysis of case-material to discussion of the critical period through which Western society is now passing and make telling use of his generalizations to explain the nature of the crisis and to indicate directions in which solutions of our problems may be found. He concludes: "The problem will not easily be solved, but one step we can take in the beginning is to learn the characteristics of the human group." It is a conclusion that will be welcomed by the readers of this journal, for it is the principle upon which sociometry is based.

PERSONAL-SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CLASSROOM SOCIAL STATUS: A SOCIOMETRIC STUDY OF FIFTH AND SIXTH GRADE GIRLS

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Numerous investigations have attempted to clarify the factors which are instrumental in determining social acceptance. Many of these have followed the methods originated by Moreno (6). Studies by Baron (1), Bonney (2), Hardy (3), Bronfenbrenner (4), Kuhlen and Bretsch (5), and Northway (7) have indicated the relationships between high social status and the more positive personality characteristics. Underchosen individuals in these investigations have frequently been found to possess personality patterns which imply the presence of emotional problems of a possibly serious order (1), (4), (7).

Only infrequently have personality traits of average status individuals been investigated. Northway (8) in one such study has reported results which indicate the value of research including individuals of "average" social status.

The present investigation has been designed to further contribute to knowledge of personal-social characteristics as these are related to varying levels of classroom social status and to investigate to some extent the impact of such status upon the individual. The problem has been to define characteristics which differentiate girls of high, average, or low status at the fifth and sixth grade levels.

SAMPLING AND METHODS

A group of two hundred twenty girls from eleven fifth and sixth grade classrooms comprise the sample population.

A criterion of social acceptance was established by means of a sociometric test (6) involving four choice situations related to preferences for companions in the classroom, on the playground, on the way home from school, and for a party in the home. A maximum of five choices was allowed for each situation with choices being confined to members of the classroom group. Choices were weighted 5 points for first choice, 4 points for second, 3 for third, 2 for fourth, and 1 for fifth choice.

Social status has been classified in terms of percentile rank of scores within each classroom group. Girls with scores in the upper 25 percent comprise the group of high social status. Those with scores between the

twenty-fifth and seventy-fifth percentiles form the group of average social status. Girls with scores in the lowest twenty-five percent are considered to be of low social status. The groups of high and low status are comprised of 60 girls each. The average status group includes 100 girls.

Responses to items of the Mental Health Analysis, Elementary Series, Form A (10) have been employed to determine personal-social characteristics. Items were selected on the basis of two criteria: (a) a minimum of 25 per cent of one of the status groups responded in the "unfavorable" manner, (b) differences in frequency of "unfavorable" responses among the status groups were statistically significant (9). Although the choice of 25 per cent "unfavorable" responses as a limiting condition was purely arbitrary it insures that an item so selected represents the response of a considerable proportion of at least one of the social-status groups.

Table I presents the proportions of high, average, and low status groups "failing" the selected items together with the differences in proportions of "failures." The term "failing" here implies merely that the response would be considered the unfavorable choice of answer in terms of the test key.

TABLE I

Proportions of groups of fifth and sixth grade girls of high, average, and low social status "failing" selected items of the Mental Health Analysis, Elementary Series, Form A.

	Proportion "Failing"			Difference		
Item	High	Average	Low	High vs. Low	High vs. Aver.	Aver. vs. Low
		A. Self-social Attitudes				
7	.233	.300	.400	.167	.067	.100
101	.133	.310	.250	.117	.117	(—).060
110	.267	.330	.450	.183	.063	.120
133	.133	.110	.250	.117	(—).023	.140
149	.217	.420	.400	.183	.203	(—).020
163	.317	.500	.383	.067	.183	(—).117

Note: This table should be read as follows: Under section A Self-social Attitudes, Item 7 refers to the corresponding item of the Mental Health Analysis, Elementary Series, Form A. Proportions of the social status groups "failing" item 7 were: high .233, average .300, low .400. Differences in proportions of the status groups "failing" item 7 were high vs. low .167, high vs. average .067, average vs. low .100. The negative sign (—) as opposite Item 101 in the last column refers the fact that the incidence of "failure" is *less* among members of the group with relatively *lower* social status.

TABLE I (*continued*)

| Item | Proportion "Failing" | | | Difference | | |
	High	Average	Low	High vs. Low	High vs. Aver.	Aver. vs. Low
			B. Comparisons			
40	.183	.390	.550	.367	.207	.160
131	.200	.370	.367	.167	.170	.003
187	.117	.270	.283	.167	.153	(—).013
188	.217	.410	.533	.317	.193	.123
			C. Social Relationships			
6	.133	.250	.350	.217	.117	.100
14	.100	.230	.400	.300	.130	.170
58	.133	.290	.333	.200	.157	.043
84	.350	.550	.400	.050	.200	(—).150
102	.117	.260	.183	.067	.143	(—).077
108	.150	.320	.350	.200	.170	.030
113	.300	.330	.483	.183	.030	.153
139	.450	.650	.517	.067	.200	(—).133
176	.117	.190	.267	.150	.073	.077
177	.133	.270	.217	.083	.137	(—).053
178	.200	.350	.333	.133	.150	(—).017
184	.233	.360	.200	(—).033	.127	(—).160
186	.217	.260	.133	.083	.043	(—).127
			D. Participation			
86	.333	.540	.500	.167	.207	(—).040
140	.150	.290	.267	.117	.140	(—).020
162	.217	.540	.467	.250	.323	(—).073
190	.083	.250	.133	.050	.167	(—).117
			E. School			
2	.383	.466	.300	.083	.077	(—).160
20	.167	.210	.367	.200	.043	.157
90	.150	.290	.350	.200	.140	.060
115	.200	.210	.367	.167	.010	.157
			F. Home			
79	.200	.350	.317	.117	.150	(—).033
127	.117	.070	.267	.150	(—).047	.197
			G. Symptoms			
49	.150	.190	.317	.167	.040	.127
72	.167	.350	.417	.250	.183	.067
99	.083	.140	.283	.200	.057	.143
124	.283	.330	.500	.217	.047	.170
198	.167	.110	.317	.150	(—).057	.207

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Item

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TABLE II

Significant differences in proportion groups of fifth and sixth grade girls of "high, average, and low" social status "failing" selected items of the Mental Health Analysis, Elementary Series, Form A.

Item	SUMMARY Statement of Item	H.-L.	C.R. H.-Av.	Av.-L.
	A. Self-social Attitudes			
7	Feels life hardly worth living	1.99	——	——
101	Feels more pain when hurt than do most people	——	2.77*	——
110	Worries about what is going to happen to her	2.13	——	——
133	Fails to do what she says she will	——	——	2.18
149	Not wrong to take things if she won't get caught	2.22	2.80	——
163	Feels need for more courage than most people if she is to do well	——	2.34	——
	B. Comparisons			
40	Most pupils get along better in school than she does	4.50*	2.96*	2.00
131	Has more bad luck than most people	2.06	2.40	——
187	Most of her classmates are healthier	2.33	2.52	——
188	Most of her friends can do things better	3.79*	2.67*	——
	C. Social Relationships			
6	People hurt her feelings more often than they do the feelings of others	2.89*	——	——
14	Finds it hard to make friends with the people she likes	4.04*	2.27	2.24
58	Worries because people do not like her as well as they should	2.67*	2.48	——
84	Feels better when she lets people know she sees their faults	——	2.53	——
102	Finds it pays to get mad at people who say mean things about her	——	2.38	——
108	People often say unfairly that she has many poor ideas	2.58*	2.59*	——
113	People often seem to think she is not as bright as she really is	2.09	——	——
139	Feels that most people manage to get more attention than they deserve	——	2.50	——
176	Most of her friends do not have the traits she likes	2.12	——	——
177	Does not have many good talks about things with close friends	——	2.19	——
178	Has confidants among people not in her family	——	2.13	——
184	Able to tell interesting stories when has the chance to do so	——	——	(—)2.27
185	Likes to buy, sell, or trade things	——	——	(—)2.04

TABLE II (*continued*)

Item	SUMMARY Statement of Item	H.-L.	C.R. H.-Av.	Av.-L.
	D. Social Participation			
86	Member of Clubs, Scouts, etc.	—	2.63*	—
140	Attends programs or socials with others	—	2.16	—
162	Member of an interest group	2.99*	4.42*	—
190	Usually patricipates in school activities	—	2.97*	—
	E. School			
2	Sometimes converses with teacher	—	—	(—)2.07
20	Spends more time than she feels is necessary on school work	2.54	—	2.11
90	Needs considerable help from her teacher	2.60*	2.16	—
115	Preference for solitary study	2.06	—	2.11
	F. Home			
79	Participates in family decisions	—	2.13	—
127	Feels friends welcome at home	2.12	—	3.15*
	G. Symptoms			
49	Gets dizzy rather often	2.20	—	—
72	Frequent headaches	3.13*	2.70*	—
99	Habit of tapping fingers	2.93*	—	2.12
124	Troubled with bad dreams	2.49	—	2.13
198	Often has stiff shoulder or back	—	—	3.05*
	Total significant differences	22	22	12

This table should be read as follows: Item 7 is placed in the classification "Self-social Attitudes" and refers (in summary) to attitude toward life. This item differentiated high and low groups (H.-L.), the critical ratio (C.R.) being 1.99. Interpreted in terms of the null hypothesis the possibility of a difference of this degree occurring due to chance alone is 5 in 100 (the 5 per cent level of confidence). Critical ratios presented are at the one (marked with the asterisk) and five per cent levels of confidence. The negative sign (—) indicates a difference in "favor" of the group of lower sociometric standing.

GENERAL SURVEY OF RESULTS

An inspection of Table I reveals that the incidence of "failures" in terms of the selected items is least among the high social-status group. Eight items are "failed" by 25 per cent or more of this group. This incidence of "failure" is found in the case of twenty-nine of the selected items among the group of average social-status and in the case of thirty-four of the selected items among the low status group. It appears therefore that, with respect to the items selected under the two conditions imposed, the

average status group resembles the low rather than the high status group in response tendencies.

The summary presented in Table II serves to confirm the above findings. When high and low status groups are compared with regard to differences in incidence of unfavorable responses, it is found that statistically significant differences occur with respect to 22 of the 38 selected items. Of these differences 10 are at the one percent level of confidence (9). The high and average status groups are also differentiated in terms of 22 items, nine differences being significant at the one per cent level of confidence. The average and low status groups are significantly differentiated with respect to 12 items, the one per cent level of confidence being reached in the case of only two of these. The high status group therefore appears to be clearly marked off from both the average and low status groups in terms of incidence of unfavorable responses and frequency of occurrence of significant differences between groups.

While in general the greatest incidence of unfavorable responses is found in the low status group, followed by the average status group, the negative sign (—) preceding certain differences (Table I) and critical ratios (Table II) indicates this is not always the case. With respect to items 184, 186, and 2,[1] a comparison of the three groups reveals that the incidence of unfavorable responses is least in the case of the low status group.

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

. In order to facilitate a more detailed analysis of results the 38 selected items of the Mental Health Analysis have been grouped under seven headings as presented in Tables I and II. An analysis of results under these principles of classification follows.

A. *Self-social Attitudes.* High and low status groups are differentiated in terms of expression (item 7), tendency toward anxiety (item 10) and social ideals (item 149). In each case the low status group respond more frequently in the unfavorable manner.

The average status group more frequently than the high (a) appear to feel themselves to be hypersensitive to pain (item 101), (b) fail to accept ethical principles (item 149), and (c) feel a need for excessive courage (item 163).

Low and average status groups are differentiated by one of the six items. The low more frequently than the average status group feel a sense of failure of accomplishment (item 133).

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[1] Item numbers are given in the order in which they are listed in Table II.

In general it seems that life appears to be more difficult and demanding to members of the average and low status groups than is the case with girls of high social status.

B. *Comparisons.* This category is comprised of four items indicating the manner in which the girl compares herself with her classmates. All four of these items differentiate the high status group from both the average and the low group. Members of these latter groups more frequently compare themselves unfavorably with others in terms of (a) getting along in school (item 40), (b) extent of "bad luck" (item 131), (c) health (item 187), and (d) abilities (item 188). The low and average groups are differentiated to a significant degree with regard to item 40 which refers to sense of success in school. Low status individuals more frequently give the unfavorable response.

C. *Social Relationships.* Eleven items have been included in this category. These items are concerned with feelings toward others, indications of social aspiration, and assessments by the subject of the attitudes and opinions of others toward herself. Six of these items differentiate high and low status groups and indicate that the low group more frequently (a) are over-sensitive (item 6), (b) have difficulty in establishing satisfactory friendships (item 14), (c) believe that they are not liked (item 58), (d) feel that their ideas are not respected (item 108), (e) feel that their mental ability is underestimated (item 13), and (f) are unsatisfied with their friends. The sense of insecurity in status among members of the low as compared with the high group is evident.

Eight items of category C distinguish the high and average status groups. Results indicate that the average group more frequently than the high (a) find it difficult to establish satisfactory friendships (item 14), (b) feel that they are not liked as well as they should be (item 58), (c) find emotional relief in criticism of others (item 84), (d) admit to outbursts of anger (item 102), (e) feel that their ideas are not appreciated (item 108), (f) feel that most persons receive more attention than they deserve (item 139), (g) lack confidants among their peers and other individuals (items 177 and 178).

Three items of Category C differentiate the average and low status groups. Individuals of the low status group more frequently indicate (a) confidence in ability to tell interesting stories when given the opportunity to do so (item 184) and (b) interest in buying, selling, or trading things (item 186).

In summary, with reference to the classification "Social Relationships,"

it appears that the average and low status groups are much alike in that members of both groups, more frequently than is the case with high status individuals, feel that others in their social environment do not respect them. Average status individuals are most prone to react with outbursts of anger and outspoken criticism. In the case of items referring to story telling and trading (items 184 and 186) possibly the aspirations of the individuals rather than actualities are responsible for the responses.

D. *Social Participation.* Four items are included in Category D. These are concerned with actual participation in group or friendship situations. High and low status groups are differentiated on the basis of one item only. Low status girls, less frequently than high, claim membership in groups which engage in interesting activities (item 162).

The high and average status groups are differentiated by all four of the items comprising Category D. Average status girls, less frequently than high, (a) claim membership in peer groups (items 186 and 162), (b) participate in school programs (item 190), and (c) attend programs or socials with other persons (item 140). Average and low status groups are not differentiated in terms of responses to the items of Category D.

E.-F. *Home and School.* The six items included under Categories E and F refer directly to home and school relationships and conditions. Members of the high group more frequently than the low feel (a) that their friends are welcomed at home (item 127). Low status individuals more frequently than high indicate a need for teacher help (item 90), a preference for solitary study (item 115), and the feeling that school work is excessively time consuming (item 20).

High and average status groups are distinguished in that high status individuals less frequently feel a great need for help from the teacher (item 90) and more frequently participate in family decisions (item 79).

Average status girls, less frequently than low, have satisfying conferences with teachers (item 2) and less frequently feel that school work is excessively time-consuming (item 20). Girls of low status more frequently prefer solitary study (item 115).

G. *Symptoms.* The five items included in Category G appear to be indicative of the presence or absence of symptoms which are frequently associated with emotional problems. The members of the low status group most frequently report dizziness (item 49), headaches (item 172), finger tapping (item 99), bad dreams (item 124), and stiff shoulder or back (item 198).

High and low status groups are differentiated by the first four of these items. The high and average groups are differentiated in terms of item 72

referring to frequency of headaches. The average less frequently than the low report finger tapping, bad dreams, and stiff shoulder or back.

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

With respect to the specific variables under consideration, it would appear that high social status is apt to be associated with more adequate personal-social adjustment than is the case with either average or low class-room social status. This conclusion may be based upon incidence of un-favorable responses to the selected items, the number of items in which high incidence of unfavorable responses is evidenced, and the significance of differences in incidence when the three status groups are compared.

In general, the high status group reveals little adverse emotionality such as anxiety and depression whereas average and low status groups more frequently reveal the presence of such unfavorable feelings.

Inadequacies in self-concept are revealed in the frequency with which members of the average and low status groups compare themselves un-favorably with their peers. High status individuals more usually compare themselves favorably with age-mates in terms of school success, health, and ability.

In the area of social relationships, again average and low status indi-viduals find difficulty in establishing and maintaining satisfactory relation-ships, and feel that they are not adequately accepted and respected by their peers. A marked difference in social participation is revealed between the high and average status groups.

In the area of home and school relationships the feeling that school work is excessively time-consuming is most marked among members of the low status group. Average and low status individuals show greater teacher-dependency than do high status girls while low status girls fre-quently show some tendency toward seclusiveness. A relationship between favorable home atmospheres and social status is indicated.

The fact that both average and high status groups are differentiated from the low in terms of the frequency with which "symptoms" are reported may indicate greater incidence of symptomatic reactions to emotional prob-les among members of the low status group.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The problem under investigation might be summarily stated as follows: "To what extent do fifth and sixth grade girls of varying levels of classroom social status differ to a significant degree in personal-social characteristics?"

Subjects are two hundred twenty girls from eleven fifth and sixth grade classrooms.

Social status is classified as high (upper 25 per cent), average (middle 50 per cent), and low (lowest 25 per cent) in terms of percentile rank of scores on a sociometric test. Responses to items of the Mental Health Analysis, Elementary series, Form A, are employed to indicate personal-social characteristics. Conclusions are as follows:

1. Significant differences in responses are found with respect to 38 test items.

2. Greatest frequencies of "unfavorable" responses are found in the case of low social status group.

3. The average group resembles the low rather than the high status group in response tendencies.

4. High status girls seldom indicate the presence of adverse emotionality or a sense of inordinate environmental demands. They compare themselves favorably with their peers, feel secure in status, enjoy group activities, display "symptomatic" behavior infrequently, and appear to have established satisfactory home and school relationships.

5. Girls of average social status reveal some degree of oversensitiveness and a sense of environmental pressure. They frequently compare themselves unfavorably with peers, attest to difficulty in social relationships, and frequently feel that they lack the respect of others. Girls of this group are less inclined to find satisfaction in group activities than are girls of high social status. They give evidence of a greater degree of teacher dependency than do high status girls and less frequently participate in family decisions. Aside from reference to frequent headaches they do not differ from the high group in extent of symptomatic behavior reported.

6. Girls of low social status frequently indicate the presence of adverse emotionality and a sense of excessive environmental demands. These feelings are frequently accompanied by a sense of failure of accomplishment. These girls frequently compare themselves unfavorably with their peers, give evidence of difficulty in social relationships, feel that they lack status with their age-mates and find school work excessively time consuming. Although in many items related to the above interpretations, low status girls do not differ significantly from the average group, there are some indications of unrealistic aspirations on the part of the low group which differentiate them from the average. Low status girls, less frequently than high, belong to groups which do interesting things and show greater teacher dependency than do high status girls. They appear to have relatively better relationships with teachers than with peers, more frequently than others

show a preference for solitary study, feel that their friends are not welcome in the home, and report symptoms commonly associated with emotional problems.

7. Results of the investigation support other evidence relative to the significance of social status in the development of children at these grade levels. The significant associations between social status, self-concept, and emotionality are evident. Possibly the implications of "average" status differ from what might have been expected. The implications of struggle, competitiveness, and aggressiveness on the part of the average status group indicate that, in spite of the sense of pressure, these individuals are more expressive and realistic in their attempts to compete than are low status individuals who more frequently appear to be defeatist, seclusive, and unrealistic.

8. Although the general tendency is clear, there is no indication that increase in social status *per se* will necessarily improve social adjustment and attitudes. It appears rather that the reaction of the individual child to his position with respect to classmates is the essential consideration.

9. The fact that social relationships are associated with personal-social characteristics to the degree evidenced, emphasizes again the need on the part of educators for consideration and understanding of the meaning of social living in the classroom at these grade levels.

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NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY*

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In March, 1948, eight lectures on social psychology were given under the auspices of the Department of Psychology of the University of Pittsburgh. These lectures are presented in a book, edited by Wayne Dennis[1] who, in his own paper, the first of the eight, describes the nature of the "new" social psychology. He suggests that the development of science ordinarily proceeds through three major stages: the "armchair" period, a second stage characterized by the relatively isolated work of individuals, involving rather small investigations of short duration, and a mature stage marked by the establishment of semi-permanent organizations and facilities for the advancement of the field. In this final stage, laboratories are established and institutions are founded which continue despite changes in personnel. Research operations are on a larger scale and possess continuity. It is only within the past two decades that social psychology has entered this third stage. All seven of the visiting lecturers in the series were chosen as representatives of organizations which currently are providing scope and continuity for research in social psychology.

The choice of representatives is catholic. A student of the Research Centre for Group Dynamics at Michigan describes a program of experimentation in group functioning and group productivity. K. T. Behanan, of the United Nations, defines the social conflicts involved in the Indian-Pakistan issue. Jerome S. Bruner and Leo Postman give a concise and well organized account of their work at Harvard on social perception. J. L. Moreno, of the Sociometric Institute, contrasts the methods of experimental sociometry with orthodox experimental methods in science. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, both of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia, deal respectively with the topics of the "social psychology of housing", and "communication research". Finally, James G. Miller of the University of Chicago, suggests certain psychological approaches to the prevention of war. Thus the activities and potentialities of social psychology are painted on a very broad canvas. Because of the

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diversity of subject matter and points of view presented, the book has no integral unity beyond the theme of suggesting fruitful research areas. This, however, is no mean contribution.

The two contributions of greatest relevance to readers of SOCIOMETRY are those of Moreno and Merton. Moreno cautions against the uncritical acceptance for social science of the method of experimental science formulated by John Stuart Mill. For Mill the uniformity of nature is the ultimate major premise for all inductions. Moreno warns that there is basis for doubt of this uniformity. He accepts the importance of the *logical* aspect of experimental method, but points out that it is the *material* aspect which demands scrutiny. The *material* part refers to the matter for whose study an experiment is designed. In the physical sciences, and to a degree, in the biological sciences, the material target of the experimental method does not matter so much as in the social sciences. Despite the vast differences to be found in material structure in physical and biological sciences, there is sufficient similarity to permit scientific methods to be applied and adjustments to be made for what differences may exist. Because experimental method has proven valuable in these areas, the inference has been drawn that the method can be applied with equal force in the social sciences. Moreno contends that this conclusion is not defensible, and that the social sciences have been crippled by a slavish obeisance to orthodox methodology. In the physical sciences, because the "subject" is inanimate, emphasis is placed upon the physical, and mechanical aspects of the situation. One does not expect fire, water, planets, or stars to contribute anything themselves to the study of their own selves. In experiments with rats or guinea pigs,

". . . . the social investigator who sets up the experiment and interprets the data, is a human being, and not a guinea pig or a rat. The rats or the guinea pigs, so to speak, have no part in the experiment as actors in their own behalf. All such experiments are human designs and not designs of guinea pigs or rats. . . . One could say here that we are trying to measure the behavior of rats as it 'is' and not what rats feel it is, but this does not change the methodical difficulty which we encounter when we apply the same techniques of observation to the relationships of men among themselves. With animal societies one can take the stand that they are given or preordained just like the individual animal organisms are, but human society is not automatically given or preordained. Although deeply related to physical and biological conditions, it has a structure whose creation and development is initiated and can be studied from within."

Moreno views human society as a powerful reality ruled by a law and order of its own, quite different from any law or order permeating other

parts of the universe. Sociometry explores these social relations and is successful because it has immediate practical value, and because it deals with the concrete, observable data found in *small social systems*. To study the small group, the investigator must become a participant, must *act* with the group, and can ill afford the neutrality of "objectivity" prescribed by orthodox science. All human characters of the group become investigators of the group they comprise in common. To contrast the old and new models of experimental method, Moreno compares two sociometrically oriented studies: the Lewin study on autocracy and democracy, and his own work during the early thirties.

Particularly cogent are his criticisms of the manner in which Lewin used sociometric and role-playing techniques in their study. These investigators sought to create groups experimentally. From a sociogram of each classroom, they selected two groups of children, equated as nearly as possible with respect to their potency for friendship and rejection relationships. For each group, five children were chosen who had experienced little relationship with each other either in the school situation or in playing together in non-school groupings. These "equated" groups then were assigned the task of making theatrical masks, and were supervised in this activity by adult leaders who played autocratic and democratic roles. Moreno cites five specific limitations in this study.

First, the experimenters did not specify clearly what criterion was used in the sociometric test applied to the children in the classroom, thus leaving open the question of whether the criterion used was meaningful enough to reveal the "true" structure of the groups. Second, the "equation" of the two groups was "negative" rather than "positive". The groups were alike only in that the sociograms showed "little relationship" among the members of either group.

Third, the two clubs of five individuals were not sociometrized before the experiment proper was initiated. Even if the first two criticisms are waived, and it be assumed that the two groups were sociometrically "equated", this "equation" would apply only with respect to a relation between each of the experimental groups and the larger classroom group from which it was drawn. With the creation of the experimental groups, it could be expected that within each group, a new set of social relations would be established. Because the task to be set was maskmaking, these new groups should have been sociometrized with respect to the criterion of making masks. These sociograms might have revealed significant relationships within each of the newly created experimental groups. There is no

way of knowing whether, with respect to the task of maskmaking, the groups are sociometrically "equated". Nor is there evidence for rejecting the hypothesis that with respect to this same criterion, one of the groups may have been characterized from the start as an autocratic type of structure, whereas the other may have shown a more democratic distribution of choices and rejections. Fourth, similar sociometric tests should have been repeated before every experimental phase of the study to see what changes had taken place in the structure of the two groups before, after and between sessions.

The fifth limitation applies to the maskmaking phase of the experiment. No data are given on the selection and role-playing training of the leaders, in spite of the fact that the opposite roles of democratic and autocratic were required of the same person. Research in psychodramatics shows not only the extreme difficulty of handling such dual assignments, but the necessity for providing role-playing training to assure a player's persistent pattern in even a single role. The players in this study may have been excellently disposed for the role of democratic leaders,—and poorly disposed for the autocratic roles, or vice versa. Hence there is no way of knowing to what extent the experimenter's own personal role structure favored either the democratic or autocratic atmosphere.

Merton reports the finding that in planned housing developments, families that are members of autonomous groups tend to be more deeply rooted in the community than families without such group affiliation, but points up the fact that the introduction of organizations by management staffs will not necessarily lead to a greater stability of tenancy. He cites research on the relation between housing design and friendship groupings, and suggests provocative research possibilities for studies in this area. In suggesting areas of new and creative research on social groupings, Merton's chapter is by far the best in this book.

Lewin does not fare well in these papers. In addition to the criticism by Moreno of the autocracy-democracy experiment, Bruner and Postman, and Merton make other cogent comments on limitations in Lewin's system. Bruner and Postman note Lewin's tendency to develop a psychology of motivation in which perception and other cognitive processes find only a small place. Merton points out that the contrived emotional involvements created in the laboratory between selected individuals are not the same as those found in daily life which typically center on *social relations with people significant to the individuals*. The "stress" situation of the laboratory

is not the same as the social punishment inflicted upon individuals in the natural, real-life setting.

". . . the sociological core of emotional involvement is seldom reproduced in the laboratory even when an experimental group is contrived, as in some of the Kurt Lewin experiments. For typically, the members of this contrived group do not stand in long enduring and emotionally significant social relations. They are primarily an aggregate of individuals momentarily brought together for goal-directed activities which may not be part of their basic concerns. The structure of *sustained* social relations, missing in the laboratory, is readily at hand in the controlled observation of planned communities. It enables one to study the process of projection among large numbers of people diversely located in a local social structure."

INTRODUCTORY DEMONSTRATIONS AND APPLICATIONS OF THREE MAJOR USES OF ROLE PLAYING FOR BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATORS

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The Origins of Community Interest in Role Playing; Seattle as an Illustrative Case.

Business administrators are beginning to see references to role playing in such magazines as *Fortune, Business Week,* and *Personnel.* They are reading about the use of role playing in the supervisory training programs of many highly regarded companies. They are discovering that some unions are training their stewards and line officers in the handling of grievances and collective bargaining problems.[1]

Here in the Pacific Northwest these references have aroused interest among business and government men and they are asking what role playing is and how it can be applied. Meanwhile, attention has been reinforced by local activity among teachers and community leaders. Dr. Leland Bradford of the National Education Association first whetted this interest with his conferences in 1948 on the techniques of group dynamics for Seattle teachers and Family Life leaders. Dr. Donald Nylen of the Seattle Public Schools and a staff leader in the Third National Training Laboratory in Group Development at Bethel, Maine (1949), furnished the major part of the leadership which brought Dr. Bradford back to Seattle in September, 1949, to assist in a Seattle Leadership Training Institute. This Institute was sponsored jointly by the University of Washington, The Seattle Public Schools, The King County Public Schools, The Seattle Chapter of the

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[1] "Although many of the large A.F. of L. unions will have little to do with education, a number of smaller ones such as the pulp and sulphite workers, upholsterers, and hosiery workers have planned ambitious educational programs. Perhaps the most unique is that of the pulp and sulfite workers under the direction of George Brooks. Brooks has carried out a large scale plan of training the line officers themselves to do the teaching. In this way he created a self generating program in which local people carry on the work. But perhaps most imaginative is Brooks' extensive use of role playing and carefully defined test situations as a way of running classes." *Fortune,* September 1949, p. 175.

Pacific Northwest Personnel Management Association, and The Washington State Grange. In this five day workshop, group development was studied and role playing techniques were widely used. A representative group of ninety leaders in business, education, government, and agriculture received their first contact and actual participation in role playing. The results are already beginning to filter through the community. Mothers come home from meetings of their local Parent-Teachers Association with excited reports of real "problem skits" they saw or participated in. Role playing is appearing in Family Life meetings and in the classrooms of both elementary schools and colleges. The Adult Education Center of the University of Washington is another arena in which role playing is introduced to many adults in the community.

Increasing attention is being given to the sources from which role playing has emerged. The pioneer work of J. L. Moreno in psychodrama and sociodrama is being studied. Such volumes as *Group Psychotherapy* and *Psychodrama* are being read by a wider public. The Journal *Group Psychotherapy* (formerly *Sociatry*) is being discovered by more and more persons who seek to understand group processes. As early as 1937 the Sociometric Institute first sponsored role playing techniques in the United States on a broad scale. It was at the Institute in December, 1947, that the writer saw his first demonstrations of role playing as developed by Dr. Moreno. In 1942 the first applications of role playing in industry were introduced at the Sociometric Institute. Since then role playing has spread through industry and is now a part of many training programs. Recently the Supervisors Club of the Boeing Aircraft Company of Seattle introduced and completed a series of training programs using role playing techniques.

This ferment has brought numerous requests from associations of business and government administrators and supervisors who want a look at role playing. They want to see what it is and what can be done with it in business and government. The writer has been trying to meet many of these requests over the past year. The demonstrations reported here are examples of what are believed to be the more successful presentations to various meetings and conferences of personnel administrators and industrial foremen.[2]

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[2] The various improvisations have been tested on the Seattle Chapter, Pacific Northwest Personnel Management Association, City of Seattle Civil Service Commission, Tacoma Management Club, Pacific Northwest Personnel Management Association, and the University of Washington Management Club.

Uses of Role Playing in Industry and Government

There are three major uses of role playing in industry and government. Industry may use role playing as:

    I.   A conference technique for problem solving;

    II.   A technique for employment selection;

    III.   A training method for employees and supervisors.[3]

Each of these uses will have different appeals to business groups depending upon their function in the organizations for which they work. In general, administrators are most interested in how role playing may be used in problem solving conferences. Employment managers and personnel interviewers and technicians are anxious to find out how role playing may be used in selection. Foremen are especially interested to find out whether they could work out role playing problems for their meetings or to find out what it would be like if management decided to put them through a training program based on role playing methods. In any event a one to two hour period is necessary in order to present a demonstration of either of the three applications. The following demonstrations should therefore be considered as separate introductions to groups of business and government men whom it is presumed are unfamiliar with role playing. As we have indicated, they have often "heard about it but haven't seen it".

I. Demonstrating Role Playing as a Conference Technique of Problem Solving

Step 1. Establish an Informal Atmosphere. If the demonstration is to follow a banquet or business meeting it is most desirable to ask the members to feel free to stand for a few minutes while you are preparing the position of tables and chairs. If this does not seem desirable, encourage the group to chat with their neighbors. Whatever is done it is important to break up a previously established formal atmosphere such as usually prevails after a business meeting. It is also important to place the table you will use in position so that participants can be *seen and heard*. Check ventilation.

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[3] The use of role playing as a technique in interview training and industrial counseling should not be overlooked. See, for example, Margaret E. Barron, "Role Practice in Interview Training," *Sociatry*, Volume I, No. 2, June, 1947, pp. 198-208; Ernest Fantel, "Psychodrama in the Counseling of Industrial Personnel," *Sociatry*, Volume II, No. 3 and 4, December-March, 1948, pp. 384-398; Robert Haas, "Action Counseling and Process Analysis, A Psychodramatic Approach," *Sociatry*, Volume I, December, 1947, pp. 256-332.

Step 2. Establish Receptive Attitudes. The group director must face the fact that he is responsible for preparing the audience in such a way that receptive attitudes will be present when he is ready to call for participants. This is especially true if participants are to be drawn at random from the group. These participants can be presumed to be hesitant, uncertain, and perhaps skeptical about this new technique. A common feeling is that it is "kid stuff", like playing in a skit, etc. Men and women of high status may be especially inflexible since they are accustomed to play in real life a successful business executive role. Others are plainly frightened that they will be asked to "act". Some are certain that role playing will turn out to be some kind of seance and that something very unusual and perhaps bizarre is about to take place. Others are afraid that they are going to be criticized if they allow themselves to be drawn into the activity as a participant.

None of these attitudes are desirable and should be dispelled by the preliminary remarks. A brief talk such as the following may be successful in preparing receptive attitudes.

Group Director: "A number of industrial, government, and community leaders have become interested in a new idea which promises to improve conferences so that groups can get more accomplished. All of us know how much time is often wasted in conference and many times just because there are arguments over the meaning of words. If you are a person who attends conferences, chances are that you have wished many times for some way to speed them up or at least to rescue them from the periodic bogs into which they often fall. This new technique may help to make conferences more efficient in time and results."

"It has been called role playing or we would call it role practice. Role playing refers to the placing of participants in roles which are then practiced in a situation such as you might find any day in your life. The technique may be applied to employee selection and training as well as to conference groups."

"The basic idea is a relatively simple one. *Anybody can participate in role playing.* It certainly should not be confused with acting. There is no script and all behavior is spontaneous just as it is in daily life."

"A role playing situation is set up by choosing *common problem situations* which are met in business and industry. For example, people are sometimes asked to show the kind of behavior or roles they have frequently seen from other persons as when a clerk and a hot headed customer meet, or when a gruff supervisor tries to get results by pushing an employee around.

"It is *not difficult* for anyone to show these roles since they are so common. Moreover, no one feels any reluctance to participate because he is assigned a role that *another person* would take, *not the one* he would take in the situation. Nobody can criticize you because you are the one to decide how the role looks to you."

"Well, this is something that you can't describe nearly as well as by demonstration. That's where you come in. You know that being part of the program is more effective and more enjoyable than being a passive observer. So we are going to put the meeting in your hands. From here on it's up to you. *Everyone will have something to do.* If we have a good meeting it will be because you made it so. If we have a poor one you will have to share in that responsibility, too. Some of you will be asked to come up to the center table and work on some group problems. Others of you will be assigned to work with groups of people around you."

"We spoke of three major uses of role playing in industry: Role playing as a conference technique in problem solving, role playing as a technique in employee selection and placement, and role playing as a training technique.

"In this meeting we will try out role playing as a technique in the problem solving conference. As a technique we shall judge the extent to which it keeps the conference on the beam by encouraging talk about a specific problem and develops means of specific action."

Step 3. Defining the Problems.

Group director chooses five persons at random from the audience and invites them to the center table. (A list of the names of persons present enables the director to make a choice quickly from the list.) The group director asks them to assist him in identifying the major problems facing personnel people today. (Use blackboard to list problems as given.) Blackboard diagram might look as follows:

Problems	How It Affects Business Operation
To get our employees to understand the meaning of a free enterprise economy.	Failure to understand often leads to tensions, strained labor relations, lowered output.
To maintain personnel functions against the demand to cut costs.	Personnel standards are lowered; staff is cut.
Etc. . . .	

Step 4. Buzz Session.

Group director asks all persons to form small groups of five or six

persons. If they need to introduce themselves, this should be done. Tell them their assignment is to add or revise the blackboard list. They are to discuss how these problems are arising in their company or organization and how they are affecting business operation. Their first task is to select one of their number to act as secretary and be prepared to report back. The five persons at the center table may continue their discussion. (Steps 3 and 4 could be eliminated since in a demonstration meeting it is best to have a prepared situation. A preliminary discussion with some of the members will enable the director to choose a live issue.) The advantages of steps 3 and 4 is the preparatory atmosphere which is created. The buzz session sets into motion the warming up process. The inactive spectator becomes the participating spectator.[4]

Step 5. Group director asks for reports from secretaries. If the group is very large, four or five reports may be requested. (It is recommended that all reports be gathered. Sometimes such an inventory of problems is useful to Chapter officers in planning future meetings.)

Step 6. Group Director "discovers" interest in a problem which he had anticipated would arise from his earlier talks with personnel (or other) people. In this instance, the problem is how to convince top management that the personnel program should *not* be cut in their current cost reduction program.

Group Director selects a person for the role of Personnel Director and briefs. (The choice of this person should probably be determined in advance. He or she must be a person who is able to talk fairly well.)

Step 7. Brief the Personnel Director: "You are the Personnel Director in a large company." (Show him the following chart of the Personnel Department.)

"This is the Personnel Department you supervise. The Industrial Relations Director has just passed the word down to you that they are going to try to cut the Personnel Budget in half. He tells you to be ready to defend your program at a forthcoming conference at which the President of the company will preside. The Chief Financial Officer will be there and the Plant Manager will probably be there, too. You decide to gather your staff supervisors and talk it over. Do you understand the problem?"

Step 8. Group Director selects a staff of six supervisors to advise the Personnel Manager. (Persons are needed to fill the roles of Safety Director, Training Director, Employment Manager, Recreation Director,

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[4] See Paul Cornyetz, "The Warming Up Process of an Audience," in *Group Psychotherapy, A Symposium,* J. L. Moreno (Ed.), pp. 218-226.

Director of Industrial Relations

Advises on formulation and coordination of industrial relations policies and procedures.

Interprets and appraises industrial relations policies and procedures through consultation with line officers.

Organizes and directs a staff of specialized assistants.

Exercises general supervision over the administration of the entire industrial relations program.

Director of Personnel Research

Plans, directs, and coordinates research studies concerned with industrial relations problems such as wages, labor supply, employee morale, safety, and selection tests.

Pools results of these studies and of comparable studies from other sources to Director of Industrial Relations.

Personnel Statistician

Develops and applies efficient methods for collecting, tabulating, and interpreting numerical data as a basis for recurring industrial relations policies and practices.

Plans and supervises the presentation of data in the form of tables, charts, and formulas.

Public Relations Director

In cooperation with the Personnel Director, explains and interprets company labor policies, personnel programs, and collective bargaining procedures to employees and to the public.

Appraises public and employee attitudes toward the firm's industrial relations program.

Establishes friendly relations with union, business organizations, newspapers, and radio stations.

Personnel Director

Directs, coordinates, and exercises administrative control over the departments under his supervision.

Appraises results of policy and practice affecting employees as individuals based on such appraisals.

Interprets both policy and program to subordinate department heads.

Safety Director

Directs the development and administration of accident-prevention safety devices and safety procedures.

Conducts periodic inspections of equipment and materials in order to decrease frequency and severity of accidents.

Conducts safety campaigns and contests.

Maintains accident records.

Training Director

Plans and supervises a program to increase the interest and competence of all employees through specialized training.

Develops programs designed to orient new employees and cooperates with the Employment Director in the induction of new employees.

Prepares and distributes training literature.

Cooperates with outside agencies in educational projects.

Wage and Salary Administrator

Establishes and maintains, in cooperation with line executives, a job evaluation and grading program for all jobs in the firm.

Establishes criteria for appraisal and determines relative levels of pay for these jobs.

Directs surveys of wages and salaries paid in other firms and areas as a basis for comparison.

Employment Manager

Discovers, compares, and maintains contacts with sources of labor supply.

Supervises interviewing and testing program to select and place new employees.

Cooperates with the Training Director in the induction of new employees.

Maintains records of transfers, promotions, layoffs, and dismissals.

Job Analyst

Develops job questionnaires and job description forms.

Writes specifications for jobs as a basis for selection, training, comparative wage determination, or other purposes.

This position may also be supervised by the Wage and Salary Administrator, or by the Director of Personnel Research.

Employment Interviewer

Conducts interviews with job applicants, under direction of the Employment Manager, designed to facilitate differential selection and placement.

Checks on employee references.

Supplies introductory information concerning firm policies.

Tests applicants.

Recreation Director

Supervises company recreational and related athletic equipment.

Organizes company parties, shows, musical events, and athletic activities.

Cooperates with community agencies in recreational opportunities for employees.

Employee Services Director

Supervises programs for mutual benefit associations, employee savings, pensions, credit, retirement, insurance, and dismissal compensation.

Supervises company stores, housing, transportation, lunch rooms, and other food services.

Labor Relations Director

Advises the Director of Industrial Relations concerning union relations and labor market relationships and conditions.

Assists in negotiation of union agreements.

Represents management in arbitration and conciliation proceedings.

May represent management in late stages of grievance procedure.

Director of Employee Counseling

Provides a counseling program for consideration of job grievances and personal problems.

Cooperates with unions, supervisors, and community agencies in solving such problems.

Maintains informal checks on employee morale and trends of thought.

Personnel Technician

Collects, tabulates, and analyzes routine industrial relations data based on such materials as results of employment tests, exit interviews, and wage and salary surveys.

This position is commonly supervised by the Employment Manager but may be found in other sections.

Medical Director

Conducts a program, in coordination with the Safety Director designed to eliminate health hazards.

Gives medical attention in case of illness or injury.

Gives pre-employment and periodic physical examinations.

Maintains records on physical condition of all employees.

Industrial Nurse

Gives first aid treatment and preventive nursing service.

Assists in physical examinations.

Assists in instruction regarding health and dietary habits.

May visit injured, absent, and ill employees.

Employee Services Director, and Director of Employee Counseling. It is usually more effective here to secure persons actually engaged in such positions although this is not necessary.)

Tell the Personnel Director that he may retire to an adjoining room with his staff for conference. He has ten minutes to get his case ready. It is important that these personnel officers understand that some of their jobs are at stake.

Step 9. Group Director selects five persons from audience. He casts them in the following roles:

President: Is open minded. He will try to gain information by listening and questioning. He will preside and try to moderate any extreme disagreement.

Plant Manager: Definitely opposed to the whole personnel department. He would abolish it except for preliminary screening of applicants. Believes all other personnel functions worth keeping should be turned over to the foremen.

Secretary-Treasurer: Has to make cut and he is convinced that a slash in Personnel will hurt the Company least.

Industrial Relations Director: Two-faced. Will go along with the Top Executives if things swing that way but will support his Personnel Director in a lukewarm fashion.

Secretary to the President: Stays in background. Takes down a record of all decisions. Summarizes at the end.

Tell these persons that they are to put the squeeze on the Personnel Director. They are to make him justify his program and if possible get him to agree to a substantial curtailment of his program and a substantial staff reduction.

Group Director encourages these persons to begin a preliminary discussion to practice their roles. Group Director checks to see if roles are understood and are clearly demonstrated.

Step 10. Personnel Director is asked to come to the Conference with the Top Officials. His staff is invited to take seats at the side or in the front row of the audience.

The Personnel Director is briefed as follows: "The hopes of your department rest on your shoulders. It is now up to you to present the case for the Personnel Department. Some of the officials you are about to deal with are skeptical, perhaps, even hostile to personnel. If you fail to present your case convincingly many of your staff directors here will have to be released. Do your best."

Step 11. Introduce Personnel Director to the Top Officials and turn the meeting over to the President. Conference proceeds until decisions are

reached. Group Director asks whether the Conference will hear from the Personnel Staff Directors.

Step 12. Ask each Personnel Staff Director to present his case to the Conference.

Step 13. Group Director instructs Buzz Sessions to form again and to evaluate the Personnel Department case. Where was it strong? Where was it weak? What recommendations does their group have to offer? Secretaries report results.

Step 14. Group Director leads a brief discussion or talks briefly pointing out how role playing technique has secured concrete discussion of the problem and how group resources have been assembled and brought to bear on the problem. Contrast this with the Personnel Director sitting at his desk making an individual plan for meeting the problem.

Point out how the breaking of a large group into smaller groups permits a much fuller participation in the problem. Make some comments on the interest and motivation induced in the audience. Point out that reality levels can be reconstructed in conference situations. This means that association meetings could be planned around this pattern if members so desired it. It means that within the context of the business or government conference involving a policy making decisions, concrete situations can be improvised to enable the group to make realistic appraisals of problems to be met and provide ways to meet them.[5] Distribute a brief list of references to pertinent literature.[6]

II. Demonstrating Role Playing as a Selection Technique

Steps 1 and 2. Develop introduction as explained in the previous demonstration, modifying only to introduce role playing as a selection

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[5] The reaction of business men to this kind of presentation may be partly inferred from a letter received by the writer from Mr. Angus Campbell, President of the Pacific Northwest Personnel Management Association. "Gone, but not forgotten—your role playing job is still being talked about and believe me I am very happy about it. We weren't quite sure what it was or how it would take, but it really went over. . . ."

[6] Ronald Lippitt, *Training in Community Relations*, A Research Exploration Toward New Group Skills, Harper and Brothers, 1949; National Training Laboratory on Group Development. *Preliminary Report*, National Education Association and Research Center, M.I.T., 1947; National Training Laboratory in Group Development, *Report of the Second Summer Laboratory Session*, National Educational Association and Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan, 1948; Two Lessons of Group Dynamics: *So You Appointed a Committee*; *When A School Man Runs a Conference*, Educator's Washington Dispatch, Washington, D. C., 1948.

technique. The problem situation to be set up is the selection of two applicants for a manager's job.

Step 3. Group Director selects two persons and asks them to step outside the room. (These persons may be selected in advance.) They should be able to talk fairly well. It is desirable, but not necessary, to have an assistant who briefs the first person as follows:

"You are a manager of a department in a retail store. The President suspects you are falling down on the job. The sales of your department are at a new low. There have been complaints that your staff takes long lunch periods. Some complaints have come in that the clerks are rude to customers. You have just received a memo from the President which reads, 'You must straighten this whole situation up or we will be forced to make necessary readjustments in your department.' You are asked to play the role of a belligerent manager who feels that the situation calls for him to give the clerks a thorough 'bawling out' and to try to get a pledge that they will change their ways—or else!" (Nothing is said about the roles which the clerks will assume. Note that in casting a member in a given role as manager that he is saved from the possible embarrassment of being shown up as a poor manager in the eyes of the professional or business group from which he comes.)

Step 4. Group Director selects a staff of seven persons from the group. He tells them the situation but does not describe the manager. He tells them the manager is being told of the situation but that he will not know that they are to be cast in certain roles. They are to put pressure on him to see how he will act under stress.

Group director invites the audience to suggest some common traits or roles such as:

> A very lazy person;
> A belligerent person;
> A two-faced, insincere person.

Common roles suggested are eager beaver, sour grapes, jealous, old timer, and hypochondriac.

Step 5. Group Director encourages the participants to practice a discussion in "role". He suggests they may wish to discuss conditions in the department. Check roles. Brief again if necessary.

Step 6. Ask audience: What may happen here? What appeals can be made? Ask audience to put themselves in the role of a selection officer.

Step 7. Call in belligerent manager. Practice the situation.

Step 8. Ask manager to try to identify roles played. (Did he talk past them?) Thank manager. Tell audience that he was supposed to play a belligerent role.

Step 9. Buzz Session. Group Director forms audience into small groups of five or six persons. Ask what happened in this situation? How did it affect relations? Why? Ask secretaries to report salient points of agreement.

Step 10. Group Director calls in second manager. He has been briefed exactly like the first except that he is to be as *understanding* as possible. He is told that he is to try to find the reason why the clerks are giving such poor performance.

Step 11. Practice situation. Ask the manager if he can identify the roles of the members. Thank the manager and tell audience he was to play an understanding role.

Step 12. Buzz Session. Group director asks groups to make a simple rating sheet which could be used for selection.

Step 13. Group Director leads a brief discussion or talks briefly point-ing out how role playing technique has tested applicants for a manager's job. This technique places the applicant in a stress situation which forces the individual to reveal himself and to demonstrate his social skills for the job that he is applying for. This is something paper and pencil tests cannot do. These traits can be only partially tapped by interview. Role playing shows the habits, attitudes, and skills of the applicant which are most apt to be critical determiners of success or failure on the job. Describe some actual applications now being made of role playing as a selection technique in industry and government. The examples which follow may be used. The literature has other examples of pertinent interest.[7]

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[7] The O.S.S. Assessment Staff: *Assessment of Men*, Selection of Personnel for the Office of Strategic Service, Rinehart and Company, New York, 1948; Percival M. Symonds, "Role Playing as a Diagnostic Procedure in the Selection of Leaders," *Sociatry*, Volume I, March, 1947, pp. 43-50; The O.S.S. Assessment Staff, "Improvisations," *Sociatry*, Volume II, April-August, 1948, pp. 27-36; Joseph Eaton: "Experiments in Testing for Leadership," *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume LII, May, 1947, 523-535.

A STATEMENT ON THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF ROLE PLAYING AS A SELECTION TECHNIQUE BY THE SEATTLE CIVIL SERVICE DEPARTMENT

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The Seattle Civil Service Department has used the role playing situation as a selection test in examinations for Police Woman, Purchasing Agent, and Contract Agent. The role playing tests, or as we call them, performance demonstrations, are used in addition to written examinations. In the opinion of the Civil Service Department staff and the raters, these performance demonstrations bring out qualities in the applicant that are not discernible readily either in the written examination or in the standard oral interview, particularly the ability to cope quickly and forcefully with a stress situation likely to occur in the position for which the applicant is applying. Also, it was judged far easier to rate qualities of tact, ingenuity, resourcefulness and ability to get along with others.

An example of a performance demonstration which was designed to test certain qualities of applicants for Police Woman is shown:

PERFORMANCE DEMONSTRATION II

For the purpose of this part of the demonstration, assume that you are a Police Woman in the Seattle Police Department. The background of the case to which you are assigned is as follows:

Mary Smith, a 16-year-old girl, was brought in by police at 11:00 P.M. last night. She was driving in an automobile with a boy who attends the same high school that she does. The automobile broke down, and police cruising by offered to take the girl home, but she refused to go saying that she was afraid of her father.

The parents were notified last night that the girl is being held in the Detention Home. Assume it is morning; the father has been waiting here at the Women's Bureau office since before 8:00 A.M. to talk to you about the situation. You have not yet had an opportunity to interview the girl. Your conversation will be with the father. No one else in the room will ask any questions or enter into the conversation.

When you are called into the conference room, proceed with the interview.

In the conference room a technical expert has been briefed on the role which he will play as the father of Mary Smith. This role will be played out as an indignant father who is extremely critical of the action taken by

the police. Mr. Smith is a prudish, overly-severe father. He has not allowed Mary to go out with boys at all, he doesn't believe in it. He takes her himself to shows and occasionally to dances. A panel of expert raters (many of whom are drawn from leading business and industrial establishments) are assembled and have been given instruction in the use of standard rating forms. Some of the general remarks and suggestions given to the board of raters include the following:

> Several individuals will cope in your presence with a problem as outlined on the attached sheet of instructions to examinees. These examinees have qualified on the written portion of the examination which covered competitive tests on factual knowledge of the work involved in this class.
> You are being asked to measure by observation of demonstrated ability to cope with this situation their fitness for this important position. A separate scoring sheet like the attached sample is furnished each member of this board for grading each examinee.
> You are asked to analyze, measure, compare, and record your observation of each examinee as to his ability on the various listed factors and, finally, his over-all fitness for the work, to the extent that these are displayed and demonstrated in their coping with the problem. The factors are:

> *Voice and Speech*—Is the examinee's voice irritating or pleasing? Is his speech clear and distinct, his voice rich, resonant and well-modulated, a real asset? Does he use good, understandable English, well-organized sentences?
> *Ability to Present Ideas*—Does he speak logically and convincingly? Or does he tend to be vague, confused, or illogical? Is he ingenious and resourceful? Does he evade the issue?
> *Comprehension of Problems*—Has he a broad grasp of the varied factors of the problem, the contacts and responsibilities? Does he grasp the topic readily? Does he show capacity for comprehensive planning?
> *Judgment*—Does he impress you as a person whose judgment would be dependable even under stress? Or is he hasty, erratic, biased, swayed by his feelings?
> *Emotional Stability*—How well-poised is he? Does he keep on an even keel?
> *Self-Confidence*—Does he seem uncertain of himself, hesitant, lacking in assurance? Or is he wholesomely self-confident and assured?
> *Diplomacy*—Does he have tact and patience even with those who disagree with him?
> *Cooperation*—Does he give evidence of ability to work well with others? Does he listen attentively to another's viewpoint or is he too quick or impatient to voice his own ideas?
> *Over-All Measure of Demonstrated Fitness for the Class*—In the light

of all the evidence regarding the examinee's ability as demonstrated, how do you rate his fitness for this highly important class?

The final rating, your complete measure of his fitness, is the only figure used for his grade on this portion of the examination. It is recommended that each rater record his ratings on the basis of his individual evaluation. The final ratings of all board members will be averaged by the Civil Service Department staff and only these general averages will be shown to the examinees. Each board member must fix the point on his own mental measuring stick which decides whether an examinee belongs above or below the degree of suitability (the 70% on the over-all scale) which he would be willing to accept as the minimum for this class if he himself were the appointing officer, that is, without considering any other available individuals.

The raters will ask no questions nor make any comment whatsoever during the demonstration, but will record from observation only.

The Rating Schedule is shown:

Factors to Be Rated	Poor	Fair	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Voice and Speech					
Ability to Present Ideas					
Comprehension of Problems					
Judgment					
Emotional Stability					
Self-Confidence					
Diplomacy					
Cooperation					

Comments: ....
....
....

OVER-ALL DEMONSTRATED FITNESS FOR THE CLASS

Based solely on what you have observed during this performance demonstration, indicate below by check mark how you would endorse this examinee with regard to the above factors for this class.

30	50	70	80	90	perfect
Very poor	Not acceptable	Endorse	Endorse with Confidence	Unqualified Endorsement	

Comments: ....
....
....
....

It is emphasized that the validity and reliability of the technique depends largely upon three things:

1. That the performance situation chosen be one that is directly relevant to the job applied for and the knowledge and experience expected of the applicants;

2. That the subject (performance material given the examinee) also must be pertinent to the job and situation;

3. That the technical actor must be able to maintain a basically constant character through all of the tests regardless of the approach each examinee makes to cope with the problem presented.

Currently, follow up observations of success in placement are being made. Refinements of rating procedures are also being studied.

A STATEMENT ON THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF ROLE PLAYING IN THE GROUP INTERVIEW TECHNIQUE BY THE WASHINGTON STATE PERSONNEL BOARD

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In 1947, the Washington State Personnel Board began the experimental use of the group interview examination for selection of persons for public positions. Essentially, the group interview is a "projective" examining instrument. The candidates reveal to competent observers certain personality traits through group discussion of pertinent problem situations. This technique appears to have advantages in administrative economy over the traditional individual interview. The first use made of the group technique was in an examination conducted for a trainee position on the technical staff of the State Personnel Board. Representatives of the departments served by the Board were invited to observe this "trial run". Later during the year additional examinations were given using the group interview technique. During that year approximately 60 persons were interviewed in classes such as Supervising Sanitarian for the State Department of Health and Informational Representative for the State Employment Security Department, in addition to the Personnel Technician trainee mentioned above. During the years 1948 and 1949 an additional number of examinations were given using this technique, the total number of applicants being approximately 1,000 and the positions covered being those such as Visitor in the Welfare Department, Interviewer in the Employment Security Department, as well as several supervisory and administrative jobs including such positions as Assistant Director of the State Department of Social Security, Supervising Sanitarians in the State Department of Health, and a number of other varied types of positions.

The general procedure is to schedule candidates to appear in groups of from five to eight. They are given an instruction sheet which explains what the group interview is and indicates how they are to organize themselves for discussion. The questions to be discussed follow on the instruction sheet. The candidates are allowed fifteen minutes to study the instruction sheet and think over the points they wish to raise during the discussion. At the end of this time they come into the examination room and seat themselves at a table where name plates have been set up to identify each of them to the raters and to each other.

The questions used in the examinations have been worked out with consultants to elicit expression of ideas or behavior on factors which are important to the position for which the examination is conducted. For example, on the first oral test for Visitor positions, one question was included on a controversial public welfare principle, one on supervisory relationships, one, a case situation involving social delinquency, and one on factors to be considered when making a decision to go into social work. It was the belief of the consultants and the Personnel Board staff that the problems contained in the questions would bring forth discussion which would enable the raters to evaluate personality characteristics which would make for success or failure in the Visitor position.

In addition to the questions, a special rating scale, instructions to raters, and brief descriptions of the requirements of the position were developed for the use of the raters. The rating scale used in the Visitor interviews contained a list of factors or traits which are considered of major importance in the position. On the reverse side of the scale are definitions of the factors. The second part of the rating scale is a summary evaluation. It has five descriptive ratings: Do Not Endorse, Endorse With Hesitance, Endorse, Endorse With Confidence, and Unqualified Endorsement. In discussing the use of the rating scale with the examiners, it has been emphasized that the factors have been included in the rating sheet to assist the observers in thinking objectively about the candidates and to eliminate, as far as possible, any "halo effect". While ratings are to be indicated on each of the factors, they would not be scored as a part of the oral test. The reason for this procedure is that we have no data which leads us to believe that the factors have additive qualities. The raters are further instructed that in order to be successful on this part of the examination, a candidate must have two ratings of Endorse or better. The ratings are to be made individually without consultation but after they have been recorded, they may be compared. The raters are told they may discuss the conversation of any of the candidates before making their decision as to their final ratings.

Before the candidates come into the room, the observers seat themselves at vantage points away from the table. Space is arranged so that they may move about during the discussion in order to see the candidates from different viewpoints. They take no part in the discussion. The procedure of the groups to be interviewed varies from test to test. Thus far, the method of having no chairman chosen by the group has seemed to give the best results. Other methods have points to recommend them, but it

has been decided that the procedure used be determined at the time of examination, depending upon the particular type of position for which the examination is held. We have experimented on occasion with the use of chairman but feel that this is a forced situation in which the person chosen as chairman is at a considerable disadvantage.

With regard to the validity of the group interview method, it will be necessary to withhold final statements until sufficient statistical data have been collected. However, the experience of employers has been that persons selected by this method have been highly satisfactory to date. They have had much less reluctance to giving real consideration to all the persons on an eligible list. The reason for this is that their participation in the process has convinced them that the possibility of a social misfit being on an eligible list has practically been eliminated.

Preliminary statistical study has been made of the reliability of this testing method. Results are based on the 1948 Visitor examination for which we used the three-man rating board. One member was constant throughout the process. This person was a Technician on the State Personnel Board staff. In addition, there was one member representing the State Department of Social Security who was either a personnel specialist or a social worker. The third member had demonstrated a knowledge and interest in the welfare program and was selected from the community in which the interviews were held. As in the case of all examinations, an attempt was made to obtain the services of the best available raters. The group on which the studies were conducted were equated as to age, sex, and written test score. Statistical analysis of the scores of the raters showed marked agreement regardless of their background. Correlations made of the scores on the written test and the ratings of experience and education with the results of the oral interviews yield coefficients ranging from .29 to .35. This would indicate relatively little duplication in testing. The reaction of the candidates to this method of interview has been favorable even from those who have been eliminated on the basis of their ratings. They indicate that in the relaxed atmosphere they tend to forget the presence of the observers in their interest in the discussion. Many of them also say that they feel they can express their ideas and reactions much more freely and completely than they could in individual interviews. They also like the opportunity to see the others with whom they are competing and feel that the method is fairer for this reason than the individual interview. While we do not feel that this is a justifiable claim, we do believe that it is an important psychological argument for the use of the group interview.

The reaction of the observers has also been enthusiastic. They find that this method is less wearing than the old style interview. It is possible and natural for the rater to tire during the day and thus slight the candidates who happen to be scheduled at a time when the rater is fatigued. By having the candidates under observation for a longer period of time, up to an hour and a half, these ups and downs of alertness are minimized in effect. The studies made on the result of the Visitor examination have shown more consistency in the ratings throughout the day between raters than has been reported as a result on individual orals. The raters like also the fact that they can spend the whole time watching and listening to the candidates. This is an important feature of the group interview inasmuch as the full time of the observer can be given to evaluation rather than to phrasing questions to conduct the interview. Several who had experience with both group and individual interviews have stated they feel they know and can evaluate the candidates much better after an hour's discussion than they could at the end of the traditional civil service interview. A few of the raters who are personnel specialists in private industry have been enthusiastic enough to make use of the method in their companies.

While this technique is undoubtedly in need of additional testing, we believe that it is superior to the individual interview for some kinds of positions. We believe that in the discussion of problem situations the candidates exhibit more of their true personality characteristics than come out under direct questioning. The group interview technique has its advantages from the economic point of view, as well. The traditional individual interview is much more time-consuming in that from sixteen to twenty candidates per day is the maximum that can be processed while by the group interview technique, as many as forty candidates per day may be observed. Where a time factor as well as a financial factor is involved, this has considerable bearing on the total cost of the interviewing process.

Our experience with the group interview technique would indicate that it is most suitably adapted to use in positions where there is public contact or supervision involved. We feel that it is particularly suited to that type of position where it is necessary for the employee to speak before groups or to discuss problems under a group situation and also where it is necessary for them to think rapidly and clearly at a time when it is necessary for them to make decisions on the spot. We expect to continue experimentation with this type of interview and hope to revise and improve it in as many ways as are consistent with the requirements of our program.

III. DEMONSTRATING ROLE PLAYING AS A TRAINING METHOD FOR EMPLOYEES AND SUPERVISORS

Steps 1 and 2. Develop introduction as explained in the first demonstration. Modify only to introduce role playing as a training technique. The problem situation to be set up is the contact of a new foreman with an intimidating steward.

Step 3. Group Director selects a person and asks him to step outside the room. It is desirable, but not necessary, to have an assistant who briefs this person as follows:

"You are a new foreman in the department. A steward is going to pay a visit with a list of grievances. He will try to turn the heat on you. You are to play the role of a *belligerent* foreman and show him who is boss."

Inside: Group Director selects a person to be an intimidating steward. He briefs him as follows:

"You are a tough, shrewd, experienced steward. You have had a new foreman in your department for about a month. You have a pile of grievances. He barks at the men, he sticks his nose into every little thing, he violates the contract right and left. (Actually he isn't a bad sort, but you decide it is up to you to show him who is boss with the men.) You intimate he may 'get the can' like the last foreman who was in the department."

Step 4. Group Discussion. Does this kind of problem arise? What experiences have you had? What may happen here?

Step 5. Check with steward to see if he understands his role. Have him repeat his instructions. Call in the foreman. (The audience does not know that he is to play the role as a *belligerent* foreman.)

Step 6. Practice situation. Thank the foreman and steward. Tell the audience that the foreman had been instructed to play the role belligerently.

Step 7. Group Discussion: What happened here? What are the consequences?

Step 8. Buzz session. Group Director asks groups to suggest alternative ways of dealing with the steward. Secretaries report the ideas of the separate groups.

Step 9. Group Director examines the alternatives. Is there a possible consensus? If there are alternative plans decide upon a role for the foreman to play. Select another person to take the role of the foreman. The person who took the role of steward is asked to repeat his demonstration.

Step 10. Practice the situation.

Step 11. Group Discussion. What happened here? What are the consequences?

Step 12. Leader evaluates demonstration. He points out that such a situation as described tests social skills and enables a foreman to test his ability to cope with the situation. Moreover in the group he can get suggestions and experiences of others. He can watch other supervisors as they attempt to deal with the same situation. Growth comes from practice and in using role playing, training means learning habits and skills not merely memorizing words or using formulas. Describe some actual applications now being made of role playing as a training technique. The statement by Charley H. Broaded which follows grows out of the experience of a skilled training man. The literature has other examples of pertinent interest.[8]

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[8] John R. P. French, Jr.: "Role Playing as a Method of Training Foremen," in *Group Psychotherapy*, edited by J. L. Moreno, 172-187; also reprinted in Schyler Hoslett, *Human Factors in Management*, pp. 99-116; Ronald Lippitt: "Administrative Perception and Administrative Approval: A Communication Problem," *Sociatry*, I, June, 1947, pp. 209-219; Alex Bavelas: "Role Playing and Management Training," *Sociatry*, I, June, 1947, pp. 183-191.

A STATEMENT ON THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF ROLE PLAYING AS A TRAINING DEVICE

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Initial experience with role playing as a training device indicates some potential value in certain areas which apparently is not achieved by the more formal methods of training supervisors. Sufficient experimentation, however, has not been completed to justify the following statements as infallibly correct. Since straight role playing does not deal with "content as such" it is difficult for members to explain exactly what they have learned as a result of their experience other than that they "understand better" what is happening to their own as well as other people's feelings and attitudes. Members do get an awareness that basic attitudes have a tendency to be the controlling factor in handling a given situation almost irrespective of the words which are used. By setting up a role playing the situation where either a supervisor, shop steward, department head or worker adopts an attitude of belligerency, talkativeness, silence or friendliness, members become able to see that these attitudes (assumed in the role) have definite reactions on the people involved. By rotating roles whereby a member is given parts calling for displays of different attitudes, an appreciation of the need for correct basic emotional and mental attitude is insured.

An awareness of having the proper basic mental and emotional attitude is definitely required in order to have supervisory personnel adequately trained but, in addition, supervisors must know the proper steps to take in correcting mistakes, handling grievances, building confidence, developing initiative, and getting cooperation. In order to achieve more results from role playing we have combined subject material showing how to acccomplish the above items with role playing so that the supervisor becomes aware of the fact that he must not only have the correct basic attitude in order to make a procedural method work but that he must also know the procedure well enough so that its application becomes almost automatic in his human relation contacts. It has been our experience that the combination of role playing as such combined with subject material has been more effective in training supervisors than either method would be by itself. The main difficulty experienced by those responsible for training supervisors has not been in any lack of what to do in any given situation but has been in a lack of ability to get people to "feel" like complying with

the procedure developed. Role playing is definitely of value in "selling" the need for the correct basic attitudes to supervisors.

Results so far achieved indicate that further study and experimentation should be very valuable and worthwhile. It is our intention to continue with this method to see if we cannot further enhance the value which we can receive from it.

AN EXPERIMENT WITH SOCIODRAMA AND SOCIOMETRY IN INDUSTRY

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The problems of industry are not merely those of machines, of technological processes, or of scientific engineering. These are a part of the formal structure of the industrial concern. The best machines, the best scientific engineering, and the most carefully conceived technological processes are, however, meaningless without the adequate organization of personnel to implement the processes. Again, on the formal level, industrial concerns (and other types of organizations as well) devise tables of organization and designate the division of labor according to assigned formal statuses. The formal status is a title of office, and each status has associated with it certain expectations, norm prescriptives of behavior. The table of organization usually takes a pyramidal form, there being few executive statuses at the top, and many worker statuses at the bottom. In the table of organization are visible the formal channels of communication. Such depiction of statuses is inadequate, however, to describe the operation of the industrial concern. The table of organization describes formal statuses, and there is no understanding implicit in such formal structure of the changes and conditions which are set when personnel is placed to occupy the status positions. The table of organization is impersonal, and each status position may be filled by a score of different persons. The person is considered expendable, the status position is not.

The workers do not consider themselves as expendable items, replaceable at the whim of the person in the proper status position in the hierarchy of the industrial concern. They have expectations of their own, and these are by no means coincidental with those of the industrial concern.

In the overall view, two sets of interests may be seen to operate in the industrial concern. One set is associated with efficiency and the production of goods for a competitive market. The other set is associated with maintaining a standard of both living and working conditions. Historically, both these sets of interests have been considered as problem foci. On the one hand, plant operators and managers have attempted to find best organi-

71

zations of men and machines towards the ideal of high efficiency, the latter frequently being measured in terms of cheapness of production, irrespective of whether this is achieved by reducing the cost of production method, of labor, or of materials. Associated with this, aside from the propaganda techniques and political and police methods used for this purpose, there grew up a branch of "science" which may be called *Management Psychology and Sociology*. In the class of management psychology we have such things as time-motion studies, organization studies, incentive studies, etc., where the avowed purpose is to find optimum production conditions rather than optimum working conditions. On the other hand, the public, the workers themselves, and groups of reformers from many sources have been interested in fostering the other set of interests. Laws controlling the work of women and children, hours of work, working conditions, etc., stem from the pressures of public sentiment. The public sentiment may be activated by reformers; we recognize the work of writers, for example, and we do not underestimate the force of a play such as Hauptmann's *The Weavers*.

One problem in the resolving of industrial conflicts of various sorts is to be found merely in the definition of the dichotomous interests. Thorstein Veblen is the man who has probably done most to popularize the dichotomy, and economists, however they regard his work, have given heed to his perceptive and penetrating works.[1] The dichotomy of interests, given impetus in definition by Veblen and other writers, and finding its way into the general thinking patterns of the public, is manifest in a particular condition. Management and workers have tended to define their interest as diametrically opposed rather than in any way congruent. These points of view, when accepted by the two parties, have tended to emphasize conflict, and in some ways have removed possibilities for resolving differences. Just as the classical economists thought of "economic man" (a hodge-podge of psychological tendencies which are a part of each and every man which make him predictable in behavior), the groups allying themselves with the two sets of interests have tended to build stereotypes of each other. On the one hand, management interests have tended to stereotype the "worker", and conversely, the worker interests have tended to stereotype "management". The limitations of this procedure, which have frequently been given impetus by sociologists and psychologists, as well as economists during the last half century, is that the "worker" is not a uniform commodity, and that workers

[1] See, for example, such works as *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (1904), *The Instinct of Workmanship* (1914), and *The Vested Interests and the State of the Industrial Arts* (1919).

cannot be stereotyped and dealt with routinely as predictable in their behavior. Again, management is not always the bugaboo which it is generally made to be in the stereotype. The union may set itself up in opposition to "management", but the union is not synonymous with the "workers". The union itself may intrinsically provide additional situations for industrial problems, especially where it tends to equate the work done by each worker, or, where the union becomes a vested interest in itself and apart from its membership. The interest of the union may become that of self-perpetuation in the existent form.

Such an introduction is not to disparage work which is done by the engineers who are concerned with the development of technological processes, nor those persons who deal with the formal structure of the industrial concern. What is obvious is that the human element, probably the most important, has been dismissed in the consideration of industrial problems, or has been relegated to the level of stereotypes of the cliches. The problem is one of human relationships—the focus of attention must be on interpersonal relationships. It is for this reason that sociometry, which has grown out of clinical practice in human relationships is so well adapted to needs of the scientists and clinicians working in the industrial situation.

The interest in human relationships in industry on a large scale is rather recent. While economists have written on the problem generations ago, while industrial psychologists have claimed a discipline for a generation and while sociologists have been interested in group structure for half a century, the focus of attention by many disciplines in any concerted way has come about only in the last seventeen years, with the appearance of "Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations" by J. L. Moreno.[2] In this volume, which may be said to be sociological and psychological in its approach, we have two great discoveries. The first is that people, surprisingly enough, do not necessarily respond to the stimuli to which they are expected to respond, and the second is that inside the formal structure of a community or of a plant there are to be found a myriad of informal structures. This book has served a great purpose in stirring up interest on many problem areas including the industrial one and stimulated Roethlisberger and Dickson, along with others like Wilbert E. Moore, W. F. Whyte, B. B. Gardner, Elton Mayo, C. Barnard, E. W. Bakke, D. C. Miller, B. M. Selekman, to mention but a few, to carry on further research in industry.

This paper is the presentation of a session conducted at the Sociometric

[2] Second, revised edition in preparation.

Institute, 101 Park Avenue, New York. The session was originally suggested by Dr. Theodore Jackson. Dr. Jackson made arrangements to bring together a number of persons working in various branches of industry who had special interest in dealing with industrial problems. Present at the session were personnel managers, consultants, public relations men, industrial psychologists, and a small number of students and other guests. The session here reported offers a two-fold type of analysis. (1) It provides one example of the type of work which can be done with sociometric techniques. (2) As a direct by-product of the study of the group participating in the session we may demonstrate how the processes of group formation may be studied with the aid of diagrams.

Forms were distributed to the group assembled in the theatre of the Sociometric Institute. These forms asked for name, industrial concern with which the person was connected, position in the firm, and two questions to be used in the construction of interaction diagrams. The first question requested a listing of all persons present at the session with whom the respondent was acquainted. The second question was the sociogram criterion: "In regard to a work situation in which you must make a decision, with which person or persons present would you like to consult?" Each member of the audience was asked to stand and introduce him or herself. When the forms were completed, they were collected and set aside to be tabulated.

Dr. Moreno entered the theatre and the session began.

Moreno: In running a session of this kind, we have to have a situation which is actual. Therefore I am asking you, is there anyone here who has a problem within his own plant? A real problem. Have you?
Audience member no. 1: Yes I do, but not at my plant. It's a personal one.
Moreno: Well, I tell you, I'll give you an individual session later on.
        (Audience laughter)
    Is there anyone here who has a problem *in his plant?* What is yours?
Audience member no. 2: I just got fired Wednesday night. I couldn't get along with the fellow over me.
Moreno: Where do you work?
Audience member no. 2: I was working for P.W. stores.
Moreno: What kind of a plant is that?
Audience member no. 2: That's an organization of retail stores.
Moreno: What kind of retail stores?
Audience member no. 2: They sell women's wear.
Moreno: How long were you working there?
Audience member no. 2: Three weeks.
Moreno: Alright, problem number one. We'll call it "retail" problem. Is

there anyone else who has an actual problem within his plant. Alright, what do you have?

Audience member no. 3: I don't know whether my problem really would fit. I am a public relations man.

Moreno: Public relations business; what's your name?

Audience member no. 3: Bryan. A group of school teachers came in to us some time ago and asked us to take on their problem. Their problem was one of trying to get wider recognition and increased salaries. They said to us that they had no money but that they expected to raise the money in a matter of a week or ten days. That was a month ago. They have not as yet raised the money. My problem is that I have become so emotionally involved in their problem that I find myself working for them without fee.

(Audience laughter)

Moreno: That's a very interesting situation. You are working without a fee because you got emotionally involved with a client. That happens also to doctors. That is problem no. 2—Emotional involvement with a client and how to get out of it. Anyone might be in a similar situation. Now is there anyone else who has a real problem at the present time. (No one answers.) I can see that you people have so many problems that you have amnesia for the time being.

(Audience laughter)

Well, nevertheless, we have two problems. Let's start right here. I would like you now to consider which of the two problems you would like to work out. Problem no. 1, *the man who got fired.* (To audience member no. 2.) Now I want you to stand up and state your problem to the group and we will then take a vote. The other gentleman will do the same.

Audience member no. 2: (Stands up, facing the group) I have a problem of unsatisfactory relations with people I work with.

Moreno: That you got fired from a job. Have you been fired before?

Audience member no. 2: No, never.

Moreno: Who would like to work out a problem of this type? Please raise your hand, for problem no. 1.

(A vote is taken; the count is 19.)

Moreno: Let's take count of problem no. 2. Who is interested in problem no. 2?

(Another vote is taken; the count is 6.)

Moreno: For problem no. 1 we have 19 votes and for problem no. 2 we have 6. That's quite a drastic difference. I'm going to ask you to reconsider both problems and to raise your hand once again. Who is for problem no. 1?

(The count is taken again; the count is 17.)

Moreno: Two dropped out. What happened? Who did?

Zerka: I did.

Moreno: Who else? You? Why did you drop out Zerka?

Zerka: Well I reconsidered and decided to change my stand. . . .

Moreno: Changing your mind again!

(Audience laughter)

Moreno: The group is the patient with a problem. In counselling of this kind the group is the client so you have to know the structure of the group to let the group determine the problem, and also to determine which of the problems presented is the most interesting one for them. In other words, we are trying to get a problem which is most vital to the group. The more involvement there is in the problem the better is the problem for *YOU*. Don't forget that I'm not the one who is in charge of this session. It is really you. I'm merely warming you up to yourself. It's sort of a reversal procedure. It looks as if I'm the one who is working so hard but it is really you who do the work. In a way we can say that we are in a similar position here as when we are doing group psychotherapy. In group psychotherapy, the group is the patient and so we have always to see that the group is warmed up to its own problem. Therefore as you have probably noticed, we took certain data in advance, in order to determine the structure of the group. We got your acquaintance diagram and your sociogram; they may give us clues when we analyze the session. Now if you are doctors, social doctors in your own plant you will have to know the structure of the group with which you work. So all these steps are taken in logical sequence in accord with the requirement of the session. After we have determined the problem we begin to work. It is obvious that this gentleman has a problem. (Doctor Moreno goes over to the subject.) By the way what is your name?

Audience member no. 2: Norton.

Moreno: Now I begin to work with Norton. He is the protagonist. He is first of all Norton, as a private person, but then he also represents a collective man, of whom we have numerous duplications in the community. "The man who gets fired." So now tell me, is there anyone here who already has been fired and who was frustrated because of that experience of having been fired? Is there anyone here who is still frustrated because of that experience? (To audience member no. 3) Don't worry, I won't use you. (To audience member no. 4) You?

Audience member no. 4: Yes, but I lost my frustration a long time ago.

Moreno: How long ago did that happen?

Audience member no. 4: About five years ago.

Moreno: What kind of a situation was it? How long did you work before you were fired?

Audience member no. 4: 7 years.

Moreno: What kind of an organization was that?

Audience member no. 4: Public relations.

Moreno: The same kind of business you are working in now? Are you married?

Audience member no. 4: Yes.

Moreno: To the same woman?

Audience member no. 4: Yes.

Moreno: Is she here?

Audience member no. 4: Sure is. (She is sitting next to him.)
(Audience laughter)

Moreno: So here we have two exponents of the same problem on both sides
of the fence. And now we are moving once again to our primary
protagonist. What was your name again?

Audience member no. 2: Norton.

Moreno: (Taking Norton by the hand and leading him toward the stage.
They are standing on the first step.) Norton, tell me, would you like
to go back to that job or is it all over?

Norton: No, it is not all over.

Moreno: Why not?

Norton: I still remember the situation and it affects me. It was very per-
sonal and important.

Moreno: What kind of situation is it in which you operate?

Norton: (Appearing perplexed)

Moreno: What kind of store is it?

Norton: It's a chain of stores.

Moreno: What are you doing there?

Norton: (Apprehensive) Are we going to act this out?
(Audience laughter)

Moreno: Go ahead, just tell me what you are doing there?

Norton: My official title is sort of a stock clerk.

Moreno: Who is your immediate supervisor?

Norton: An individual named Morty (Morton).

Moreno: When you were fired what type of a situation was it? Can you
reconstruct it? Who was there?

Norton: He was there.

Moreno: Who else?

Norton: An individual.

Moreno: Well, to whom are you directly responsible?

Norton: To Morty and the other individuals who are working with me.

Moreno: Well, as far as the situation of actually losing the job is concerned,
who was in that situation?

Norton: Individuals in the office.

Moreno: But who fired you?

Norton: I couldn't find out.

Moreno: Just a name. What will we call him? Any name?

Norton: I don't know who it was.

Moreno: Let's call him Mr. X. Why don't you look around and pick a
Mr. X for yourself.

Norton: (Appears to be peculiarly undecided.)

Moreno: Who would like to portray Mr. X in this situation? Anyone here?
You look like a man who would make an excellent executive. Come on,
you will be Mr. X. (Dr. Moreno and a member of the audience walk

up on the stage.) Here he is! Is there anyone else you need in the situation?

Norton: I need Morty in it.

Moreno: Morty. . . . (looking at the audience) Is he a younger man or older man?

Norton: An older man.

Moreno: Here he is. (He picks out an "older" man from the audience.) You look just like a "Morty".

(Audience laughter)

I will give you a few minutes to prepare the situation. (Norton and his two auxiliary egos go towards the rear in order to reconstruct the scene.)

Moreno: We are moving toward this gentleman here. (The other protagonist who "got fired".) If you will sit in front for a moment. (The gentleman gets up and sits in the front row of the theater.)

Moreno: And you were fired about 7 years ago. Exactly what happened?

Audience member no. 4: A new man was brought in. Now I realize that he was probably a much better man than I was.

Moreno: Who was he?

Audience member no. 4: He was an ex-admiral.

Moreno: How much salary were you getting at the time?

Audience member no. 4: $25,000.

Moreno: How many hours did you put in a day?

Audience member no. 4: About 20 hours a day.

Moreno: Well, you were certainly not overpaid there!

(Audience laughter)

Tell me, what circumstances were there that you lost the job?

Audience member no. 4: There were no circumstances. It was an organization of many people and a few of them decided that they needed someone with a title of an ex-admiral. They were absolutely right and I recognize that now. But at that time I thought that they were all wrong.

Moreno: Why did you think they were wrong?

Audience member no. 4: I felt that there was no recognition of talent.

Moreno: What do you consider your most outstanding talent?

Audience member no. 4: Intelligence, sincerity, hard work. . . .

Moreno: Have you achieved something outstanding for the organization while you were working there?

Audience member no. 4: I left an excellent record behind me and a good reputation within the field.

Moreno: How did they fire you?

Audience member no. 4: There was an eight months period while I was training this man in the job.

Moreno: It took you by surprise?

Audience member no. 4: Well, not completely.

Moreno: How much salary did you get after they fired you?

Audience member no. 4: 6 months.

Moreno: Did your wife know about it?

Audience member no. 4: Yes, sir.

Moreno: Why do you remember that incident so clearly?

Audience member no. 4: It was the first time that I was ever fired in my life and a terrible blow to my pride.

Moreno: How old a man were you then?

Audience member no. 4: 32.

Moreno: What did you actually do?

Audience member no. 4: I had a staff of 40 or 50 people under me.

Moreno: In what executive capacity were you?

Audience member no. 4: I was managing director.

Moreno: Was there any personal problem with any member of the group?

Audience member no. 4: No.

Moreno: Was it entirely symbolic, would you say?

Audience member no. 4: Yes.

Moreno: Are you entirely sure of that?

Audience member no. 4: I am now; I wasn't then.

Moreno: How did you feel then?

Audience member no. 4: Very unhappy.

Moreno: The job afterwards—how much did that pay?

Audience member no. 4: There was quite a cut in my income. But I had that severance pay which helped matters quite a bit.

Moreno: Let's go back to that personal problem. Who was the man that fired you?

Audience member no. 4: That was the admiral.

Moreno: The admiral himself! Is he still alive?

Audience member no. 4: Yes, and as a matter of fact we are fairly good friends now.

Moreno: That's very nice to hear. Alright, thank you very much. That was very interesting. (The man goes back to his original seat.) Is there anyone else here who remembers being fired? You?

Audience member no. 5 (A woman): I do!

Moreno: Oh yes, of course.

Audience member no. 5: What do you mean "of course"?

Moreno: I say "of course" because this is very natural, a frequent finding in group sessions. At first no one remembers and then after being "warmed up," people begin to remember quite suddenly their previous collateral experiences. That is a sort of group contagion angle. We speak of a "network" in sociometry. Now what do you remember?

Audience member no. 5: I was working for a newspaper.

Moreno: What newspaper?

Audience member no. 5: The World Telegram.

Moreno: How long did you work there?

Audience member no. 5: 4 years.

Moreno: How many years ago was this?

Audience member no. 5: About 11 years ago.

Moreno: What salary did you get?

Audience member no. 5: About 75 dollars a week.

Moreno: Who fired you? A woman or man?

Audience member no. 5: A man, the general manager.

Moreno: Do you have a better job now?

Audience member no. 5: Much better.

Moreno: What are you working at now?

Audience member no. 5: Public relations. (Moreno stops the interview here. Norton and his two auxiliary egos have returned back on the scene.)

Moreno: Thank you and now Norton. . . . Tell me what is the situation? Where are you?

Norton: We're in the stock room of P.W. shops right here in N.Y.C.

Moreno: Who is this gentleman?

Norton: This is the individual who is my immediate supervisor.

Moreno: Who is the other individual?

Norton: This is the individual who informs me that I have been fired and who has my pay in his pocket.

Moreno: Go ahead! Get into action just as it is!
        (The scene begins.)

Mr. X: Who is Norton over here?

Norton: Right here. Don't you remember me from the other day?

Mr. X: No, I don't know you. I just looked up your name. How long have you been here now?

Norton: 3 weeks.

Mr. X: I don't like to tell you this but for a great number of reasons we think that we will have to dispense with your services. If you will take this voucher up to the cashier. . . .

Norton: But why? ? ? . . .

Mr. X: Well, a great many reasons, Norton. You just don't fit into the scheme of things.

Norton: But I don't understand? My production has increased and I have been improving right along.

Mr. X: Well, that may be so within your own mind. But for a great number of reasons which are too numerous to state (rather impatiently) . . . So if you will take this voucher up to the cashier. . . .

Norton: What does Morty have to say to this? He's been working with me right along.

Morty: Sorry, I have nothing to say about it. The decision has been made.

Norton: But what are the reasons?

Morty: I'm sorry but it seems that your work has not been satisfactory. (There is an embarrassing silence.)

Mr. X: (determined) Let's not drag this out any longer. We have just told you that your services were unsatisfactory and "for a great number of reasons." One is: Well, you seem not to mix in with the group the way you should. You carry some of your load of the work but most of the time it's wanting in a little more pep and initiative. You seem to have things on your mind that interfere with your work. Many

instances when Morty asks you to do something, you don't actually do it wrong but you just convey the idea that you're not quite suited for it. So we better not discuss it any further.

Norton: Couldn't you possibly give me another week of trial. I have only been here for three weeks.

Mr. X: No. I'm sorry. Once the decision has been made we can't alter it.

Morty: Alright, Norton, I think we better call it quits.

Norton: Suppose I see the head of the office here.

Morty: We can't arrange that now.

Norton: (Aside to director and audience, breaking out of role.) Well, that individual *does* see me.

Moreno: Alright let's cut right here. I'd appreciate if you three men would stay right here on the stage. Now tell me, Norton, as you are standing here and you know that they want to fire you, how do you feel?

Norton: I feel very disappointed in myself and in the firm and also my relations with the various people because of the fact that they notified me so suddenly.

Moreno: How do you feel about Morty? Look at him!

Norton: I feel very distrustful of his attitude when he was friendly with me.

Moreno: How friendly was he? Did he ever go out with you?

Norton: No, I didn't want to get personal with him because I had irritations with him. But he was friendly towards my progressing with my work.

Moreno: Did he believe that you were alright?

Norton: He didn't seem to know too well whether I am alright, just that. . . .

Moreno: Is there anything which he did towards you which stands out in your mind?

Norton: Yes.

Moreno: Any specific thing?

Norton: His continual nudging of me to do something.

Moreno: What did you mean by "nudging"?

Norton: Well, if I was working at something he would come over to me and say "do it even better."

Moreno: What is your pay?

Norton: $35 per week.

(The auxiliary ego contributes to the interrogation.)

Morty: Didn't you say that you were also engaged in too much conversation with the rest of the people at work?

Norton: Well, during the time I was supposed to rest I talked the same way you did.

Moreno: (Walking over toward Mr. X.) Confidentially what is the matter with Norton? Why don't you keep him?

Mr. X: The way I see it he seems to have other problems on his mind which keep him from putting his whole self into his job.

Moreno: What kind of problems?

Mr. X: Problems of, oh, maybe "some other occupation after work" that keeps his mind off his work.

Moreno: Has someone informed you of this?

Mr. X: Yes, Norton himself.

Moreno: What kind of work is he doing in the evening?

Mr. X: School in the evening, which is useful, of course. But it seems to me that it is just too much for him and he can't put his whole self into the job. He is also an individual who doesn't fit in with the rest.

Moreno: Morty, what personal experience have you had with Norton.

Morty: Well, he just doesn't put his whole heart into the job the way he should.

Moreno: Did he do any specific thing?

Morty: He doesn't carry out the assignments quite as readily as he should and he'll stop, talk, and listen to the other people and that has caused quite a bit of delay in getting jobs done and thus he throws the others off balance.

Moreno: Norton, how many others depend upon you with their job.

Norton: There's no one that is subordinate to me. You can't put your finger upon one person because we all depend upon each other in the work.

Moreno: Is there anyone who squealed on you? Who carried information about you?

Norton: I squealed on myself.

Moreno: Now you take the boss's situation. You are now the boss, Norton, and I want to talk to you.

(Norton changes his position and takes the part of the boss.)

Moreno: What do you think is the trouble with Norton? You are now your own boss, Norton, remember. You have the part of the boss. Tell me now what happened that compelled you to fire that boy?

Norton as Mr. X: He didn't get along with other people in the organization as well as . . . (there is a pause here and Norton seems to be groping for words). The fact that he brought up an issue.

Moreno: Which issue did he bring up?

Norton: The fact that "I" was getting too much pay for my work. (Norton has "fallen out of role" and answers as Norton instead of Mr. X.)

Moreno: You, yourself, how much did you get paid?

Norton: $35 a week. Well there is a fellow in my office. . . .

Moreno (interrupting): Who are you now? You're not Norton, I'm talking to the boss, not to Norton.

(Norton often falls out of the role when the subject matter becomes "hot", very personal and intimate.)

Moreno: How much do "you" get paid?

Norton: As the boss?

Moreno: Yes.

Norton as the boss: $10,000 dollars.

Moreno: And do you really feel that the $35 Norton gets is too much pay!

Norton as the boss: Well this is what Norton said. (Norton's speech is hesitant and slow at this point.) There are fellows who have been hired before he was hired and are getting less money for the same work. There are fellows who were hired after he was and are getting less pay also. Now Norton was hired to do a more technical job than he was

doing and he wanted to go ahead and learn this more technical job, but business was slow—the job was being taken care of.

Moreno: That's what you think about Norton?

Norton as the boss: That's what he told me.

Moreno: Norton told you?

Norton as the boss: Mmmm (yes).

Moreno: Is this part of the policy of the organization to use employees of this kind the way you do?

Norton: (falling out of the role again) I as Norton?

Moreno: No, no, I'm talking about Norton to you. Norton is over there, look at him. (Moreno points to the auxiliary ego.)

Norton as the boss again: It seems to me as a very stupid thing to do. It seems ridiculous that he was doing work for which he had less experience than the others and for which he was getting more pay. I suppose he was stupefied at this.

Moreno: Norton was stupefied. But how was the organization? How do you as a representative of this organization feel about this employee?

Norton as the boss: Well, he's getting paid for more than he is worth.

Moreno: So you feel justified in firing him?

Norton as the boss: Yes.

Moreno: (addressing Norton as Norton) Now let's go over here. You be the man with whom you were closest. I'd like to speak to him. So you will take the part of Morty, your immediate supervisor.

> (Norton has now taken the part of Morty and is standing in his place. Everyone has a special place assigned to him in the room, the manager, the immediate supervisor, Morty, and Norton, so that when Norton takes their place he also resumes their roles.)

Moreno: What do you think about Norton's being fired?

Norton as Morty: As far as I am concerned, I can be frank now, even though I am not usually frank to myself.

Moreno: Anything personal?

Norton as Morty: Well, I was willing to keep him on but he himself has brought up the issue that he is getting more pay than the other individuals doing the same job. I didn't realize that before. And I've had some (after a moment of hesitation) situations where we didn't get along too well.

Moreno: What kind of situations?

Norton as Morty: Well, "he" griped that he had to continually nudge me to do certain things. (Norton has fallen out of role again.)

Moreno: Who is talking now?

Norton: Norton.

Moreno: You are acting as Morty.

Norton: (back in the role of Morty, his supervisor) As far as I know I have this job as supervisor and I have to see that everything gets turned out.

Moreno: Did he do anything that would justify you to report him?

Morty: He made me aware of the fact that he was getting more pay than the other fellows doing the same work.

Moreno: Does he really get too much pay? How many hours a week does Norton work?

Morty: 37 hours a week.

Moreno: 37 hours at $35 a week. Is that too much pay, Morty?

Morty: We can get an individual who will work for less money.

Moreno: What do you pay for the type of service which he renders?

Morty: $32.50 and $34.50 a week.

Moreno: So it's really a matter of $2.50 more a week or even 50 cents more a week than he should be getting? Now, does it really make that much difference to the company?

Morty: It was very easy to get Norton through the N. Y. State Employment Service and we got another fellow through the same service and we're paying less money. So we can easily replace Norton.

Moreno: Tell me something else about Norton that bothers you?

Morty: (looking thoughtful) Mmmmmm.

Moreno: Why don't you come out with it?

Morty: I didn't get along with Norton too well. (Tempo of interaction becomes fast from this point on.)

Moreno: What happened between you two?

Morty: For one thing he told me that I was overworking myself and was in a nervous state and should go to a doctor.

Moreno: Who should go to a doctor?

Morty: I (Morty) should go to a doctor. He told me that a couple of others had also noticed it and that's why he told me about it. He told me that if I don't go I would get a crack up.

> Moreno interrupts here a flowing dialogue for analytic reasons. It seems curious that a recently employed man who is anxious to keep his job would tell his supervisor that he may get a nervous breakdown! Such a commitment in "reversal role" often hides important personal references.

Moreno: What's the matter with you, Norton? Now take the part of Norton again. Why did you tell him that?

Norton: Well I felt he would get a breakdown.

Moreno: Alright. Let's see the way Morty acts in an office. Norton you take the part of Morty again.

Norton: (in the role of Morty again, walking through the plant) You go over there! You get that done over here! Ah (seems rather lost at this point).

Moreno: (to auxiliary ego) You take the part of Norton.

Norton (auxiliary): How soon shall I do it?

Morty: Do it right away!

Norton (auxiliary): I can't do it right away. I've got some other things to do.

Morty: What else do you have to do?

Norton (auxiliary): I have to move some stock to the other building.

Morty: When you get done with that, then do this. (Points at some stock which blocks the doorway.)

Norton (auxiliary): Alright.

Moreno: Prompting is pushing the dialogue in the direction of the warm up, in the direction the self of the protagonist is moving. Prompting is the opposite to "directing" or "interrupting." What happens next?

Morty: You fellows move this box over here. You over there get this out to the shipping department. Make sure that gets done.

> (The following has been edited for reasons of brevity.)

Moreno: Alright, Morty, now you take the part of Norton again. Be yourself and go up to Morty. (Pointing to the auxiliary ego.) This is Morty over here and tell him about the doctor.

Norton: Listen, Morty, the way you're carrying on it seems to me that you'll get sick. I'm afraid that you'll get a nervous breakdown. You're working too hard.

Morty: I don't think that anything is the matter with me. What business is it of yours anyway?

Norton: I'm just trying to help you out, you know. It's for your own benefit that I'm telling you this. Furthermore I'm not the only one that has noticed how nervous you are. The other fellows see it too.

Morty: Look, Norton, what are you driving at?

Norton: I think you ought to go to see a doctor. Maybe he can help you. You have to be careful. *I've had trouble myself and I know what it's like.*

Morty: Listen, Norton, if I were you I'd mind my own business. You better get back to work now. I've just about had enough of you.

> (This is a strategic point to interrupt, in order to clinch an important issue before it gets cold.)

Moreno: What kind of a doctor have *you* been going to Norton? A psychiatrist?

Norton: (Norton pauses, looks at Moreno, looks at the audience.) Yeah.

Moreno: How long have you been under treatment?

Norton: Two years. (Looks uncomfortable, slouches, shifts his feet.)

Moreno: Have you been to a mental hospital?

Norton: Yes, in Connecticut.

Moreno: Shock treatment?

Norton: (No response.)

Moreno: Did you get electric shock treatments? Insulin?

Norton: (after pausing) Yeah. The works.

Moreno: What is the name of your psychiatrist?

Norton: Dr. Zand.

Moreno: What did he say when you told him about this incident?

Norton: He didn't think what I said was wise.

Moreno: How do you feel about it?

Norton: I agreed with him. I learned one lesson out of this. That is to keep my mouth shut!

Moreno: No doubt you did!

> (Audience laughter)

Moreno: You mentioned before that you wanted to see the head of the store. Did you go and see him?

Norton: Yes I did.

Moreno: (To the auxiliary ego) You take the part of the head of P.W. stores and Norton comes in to see you. Did you make an appointment with him, Norton?

Norton: Yes I did.

Moreno: For what time did you make the appointment?

Norton: For two o'clock in the afternoon.

Moreno: What does his office look like? Describe it!

Norton: It is large. It has a big desk in the center and two chairs on the side.

Moreno: Does it have any windows?

Norton: Yes.

Moreno: How many?

Norton: Two.

Moreno: Where do they face?

Norton: I don't remember exactly. But I think they are facing the street.

Moreno: Are there any pictures on the wall?

Norton: He has one big painting, oil, I think.

Moreno: Is the man sitting or standing?

Norton: He is sitting when I come in. His desk is cluttered with papers.

Moreno: When you come in what does he tell you?

Norton: To sit down.

Moreno: Alright, Norton, you are now coming in to see Mr. . . . . . What is his name?

Norton: I don't remember. I think it is Mr. Wells.

Moreno: You are now coming in to see Mr. Wells about the fact that you have been fired. What time is it?

Norton: It is 10:35.

Moreno: Is that the time that you went to see him?

Norton: Oh no, it was at two in the afternoon.

Moreno: Be exact if you can; then it is two in the afternoon and you are in Mr. Wells' office.

Mr. Wells: Yes, what can I do for you?

Norton: I've come to see you about my being fired.

Mr. Wells: I'm not familiar with the facts of the case but if you were fired there must have been a good reason for it.

Norton: That's just it. *I want to know the reason.*

Mr. Wells: How do you feel you have been doing in your work?

Norton: I feel that I have been progressing all along and that my production has increased and I don't see why I was fired.

Mr. Wells: I really have very little time, young man, but it seems to me that if you were let go there must have been something unsatisfactory about your work.

Norton: I was fired from one day to the next without any notice and I feel that an injustice has been done to me.

Mr. Wells: The officers of this company are all reliable and efficient individuals and I am sure if they have decided to let you go . . . .

Norton: I have just been with the company for three weeks and was wondering if you would give me another chance?

Mr. Wells: Well . . . .

Moreno: Change parts! (Norton takes the part of Mr. Wells and Mr. Wells the part of Norton.)

> (Such "reversal of roles" is applied in crucial moments of a sociodrama in process in order to find out not only what happened, but what the subject thinks happened in the mind of the other person.)

Norton as Mr. Wells: I am afraid that we will not be able to do that. Once a decision has been reached it is not altered. That is against the policy of the company.

Moreno: (Walking over to Norton, who has the part of the boss.) Just between you and me, Mr. Wells, what do you think of this employee?

> (The director is ever-present in the course of a sociodrama ready to step in. The protagonist is usually not conscious of his "ever-presence." The director often gives comments on the total situation, trying to clarify it; he often acts like the individual conscience of one or another protagonist or as the collective conscience.)

Mr. Wells: I think that he has some nerve to be taking up my time like this. After all I am a very busy man and can't be bothered with such things.

Moreno: Don't you think it a bit unfair to fire someone without a reason and without notice?

Mr. Wells: I think he is just coming up here to make trouble. I am sure a reason was given to him; if it wasn't he should be able to see it himself. It is not the policy of my company to fire our men without reason. That would be poor business procedure.

Moreno: Nevertheless, why won't you give him another chance?

Mr. Wells: I'm not able to do it. It is against the policy of this company.

Moreno: Alright, Norton, you are your own self again. How do you feel after the interview with that man?

Norton: I feel that the whole thing is very unfair. I am angry with myself that I was not able to succeed. I feel like a failure. Anyway I am glad that I went to see him, even though it didn't turn out well. So I feel I did everything I could.

Moreno: Tell me, Norton, have you ever been fired before?

Norton: No.

Moreno: What was the job you had before this.

Norton: I worked for my uncle.

Moreno: What did you do there?

Norton: I just helped him around the place.

Moreno: Why did you leave?

Norton: I wanted to be out on my own.

Moreno: And what did you do before that?

Norton: I worked for my father.

Moreno: What did you do for him.

Norton: I worked around his place.

Moreno: And why did you leave him?

Norton: My father and I have many different opinions about various things and we just did not understand each other.

Moreno: I see. Have you ever had a job outside of your family?

Norton: No, I never had. This one for P.W. stores was the first one.

Moreno: I see. What do you intend to do now?

Norton: I'm trying to find another job. By the way, does anyone here need a good stock clerk?

    (Audience laughter)

Moreno: Well, I hope someone does, for your sake. If they do they will see you after the session.

Norton: Well, I hope so too. I really need a job.

Moreno: Norton, thank you very much for your excellent presentation. You were a fine protagonist. I want to thank the other members of the group who acted as auxiliary egos. They gave a very realistic portrayal.

    (Applause. Norton, and the two men leave the stage.)

Moreno: Now, as usual, we are again moving back into the group. Is there anyone else here who has had a similar experience? Anyone who has been fired? We had one gentleman before who lost his job. Could you identify yourself with any part of the presentation?

Audience member no. 4: Well, my case was different but I do see some similar points.

Moreno: What do you see that you can relate to yourself?

Audience member no. 4: The way Norton felt about being fired. I felt the same way. That is to say, that someone has been unfair to me and at the same time that feeling of disappointment in myself. You know, your vanity is hurt.

Moreno: Don't talk in the you, always I.

Audience member no. 4: I felt that they didn't appreciate my talents and I felt that maybe I didn't sell them strongly enough. But now I understand the whole incident and it doesn't bother me in the least. Thank God, I got over it 100 percent.

Moreno: Lucky boy! How about the lady over there. You started to tell us something.

Audience member no. 5: Yes, I was fired from my first job.

Moreno: From your first job? What happened? What did you do?

Audience member no. 5: I was a reporter for the New York World Telegram.

Moreno: A reporter for the New York World Telegram! What did you do— dig up stories that were not supposed to be dug up?

Audience member no. 5: Not quite but something like it. I was given an assignment to find out how men felt about beauty parlors.

    (Audience laughter)

Something trivial like that. As I remember it was very hot at that time and I didn't take the thing too seriously. There was a lot of other work which had to be attended to and I couldn't be bothered with such a side line. At any rate it got to be two nights before the thing was due and I proceeded to pound out what I thought was a pretty good story, gave a few examples, you know of the confessional type. At any rate I handed it in to the editor and he called me down to his office a little while later. He began asking me questions about my sources and I guess they didn't jive. To make a long story short I found myself confessing the truth and in return got my notice.

Moreno: That was one time you didn't get away with it!

Audience member no. 5: Don't get me wrong. That was the first and last time it ever happened.

Moreno: What are you doing now?

Audience member no. 5: I'm in the same organization that other gentleman is in, public relations!

Moreno: Like it better?

Audience member no. 5: Much better. It was a big step ahead.

Moreno: How did you feel when you got fired?

Audience member no. 5: I got over it pretty quickly. I was rather amused that they were able to see through my trick.

Moreno: You mean to say that it didn't bother you at all?

Audience member no. 5: Well, I was a little angry with myself that I wasn't able to cover it up a little better. It didn't go too deep.

Moreno: I am sure, nevertheless, that your pride must have been wounded, just a little?

Audience member no. 5: I guess so. It was so long ago I really can't remember. Anyway when I look back now it makes me laugh.

Moreno: Is there anyone else who has ever been fired or who can identify himself with any part of the production?

Audience member no. 6: I have a question that I would like to ask Norton.

Moreno: Yes, go right ahead.

Audience member no. 6: Do you remember the type of interview you had with that company?

Norton: Yes.

Audience member no. 6: What was it like?

Norton: Well, they asked me about my background and my experience, my age.

Audience member no. 6: Did they ask you about your activities in the evening? About the fact that you went to school?

Moreno: Excuse me for interrupting here, for a second, but this is a rather interesting point. How do employers feel about their employees attending school in the evening? What would you say?

Audience member no. 6: I think that some would have a lot of respect for a boy who is ambitious enough to want to attend school in the evening. I know that my company recognized that fact very highly. However, some organizations might feel that the employee is using the company

as a stepping stone to further himself and as soon as he finds something better he will leave. This is especially true in a position of a non-executive capacity.

From this point on the discussion took a turn to general considerations of personnel selection in industry. A member of the audience, an executive of a major airline, indicated the steps in selection of personnel in his firm. He also indicated the manner in which persons are fired from the firm, indicating that first there is a "conversation" which is a hidden warning; second there is the direct warning; if no results are gotten by this procedure, the person may be "laid-off" for a week without pay; if this still doesn't get results in modifying the behavior of the worker, the worker is discharged. He indicated that at all points the worker is informed of reasons for dissatisfaction, and that a situation similar to that of Norton's could not arise.

Other members of the audience raised questions and made comments, most, however, being of a general nature, indicating dissatisfaction with the personnel policies of the majority of firms.

The discussion was returned to focus on the subjects of the interviews who also reported being fired. They were questioned concerning any identification they might have with the portrayal on the stage. One subject, the person who had been fired from the paper, did not identify with the portrayal at all. The other subject, on the other hand, stated that he had felt the same bewilderment which was so apparent with Norton. Other members of the audience were queried concerning their feelings about the performance. A few identified with each of the positions. What became more apparent was the general dissatisfaction with the inadequate personnel policy of Norton's employer. From this point the discussion moved back to Norton.

Audience member no. 7: I got the impression that all along he was acting like a person who was mentally ill.
Moreno: Did Morty know about that? Did you talk to him about it?
Norton: Well, I asked Morty whether I could leave a little earlier on Monday to go to the doctor because I was nervous.
Moreno: Did he ask you anything more?
Norton: No.
Moreno: How long after you started to work did you ask him that?
Norton: One week.
Moreno: And you worked there three weeks in all. The fact of being nervous and mentally ill came out first in an abreactive way on the stage, but now in the discussion we come back to it. This shows again how valuable it is not to leave the production on the stage hanging in mid-air

(some misinformed people think that a sociodrama *ends* with the production on the stage), without returning to the audience participants and interweaving their questions and remarks with further interview of the subject, whose stage production now gets him ready for a more intensive interview. The entire production has prepared him, warmed him up for a more complete communication with us, the audience. Now one thing we noticed about Norton in the job-situation: he did not keep his mouth shut. About *what* one must keep his mouth shut differs of course with the social environment and its top values; in our society one loses prestige if he reveals that he has served a prison sentence, that he has been mentally ill, or that he has no money, etc. We should discuss such things in an open group like this. Mental maladjustments are frequent in industrial plants. Whether a psychiatrist is consulted or not, knowledge of psychiatry has become such a necessity that even in simple employment situations there is a need for it; it is a reality. In industrial settings we should have sociometrists, and sociatrists employed. There are not only economical problems to deal with. These people, besides working, have to live too and there is a tremendous amount of deceit and tricks going on. Sooner or later the manager has to face it. At the same time this man is probably a capable worker, but was scared to tell his superiors the truth about himself. If instead, you *could* have told them fearlessly, they could have placed you, giving you the four steps this gentleman mentioned before, and you could have learned about yourself step by step, instead of being fired and having to come here because you are upset about it. I am very glad the protagonist came here tonight; we can all learn from such a production. (To the audience.) It makes us realize that our community is full of sick people; maladjusted parents rear our children; teachers, sick themselves, teach our children in the schools; in our industries a person with mental illness may frequently be found in the frontier of leadership. (To Norton.) Did you understand that they all knew about your mental condition? They did not tell you?

Norton: I don't know; I don't think they knew until recently.

Moreno: We have to make our industrial plants so flexible that they can absorb people who are somewhat maladjusted, maybe by assignment to special work groups and by grading their wages and employment hours.

Audience member no. 8: Why was Norton so concerned about the fact that he was earning two and a half dollars more than other people?

Norton: I was concerned about the "security" of my job. There were fellows there who had had more experience.

Moreno: Yes, but what did you fear about it?

Audience member no. 8: I had the feeling that he wanted to be a member of the group completely rather than being set aside. The "fifty cents" difference is only symbolic.

Moreno: How did you feel about that?

Norton: I did not understand her.

Audience member no. 8: Maybe you just wanted to be one of the boys.

Norton: Well, I did feel differently from the other fellows. I did not feel an equality with them. Especially when I asked if they were there longer, and they did not earn more than I did.

Audience member no. 9: How much education did your immediate superior have?

Norton: He continuously stressed the fact that he thought I was a college graduate.

Moreno: Are you?

Norton: No. I have had two years at Brooklyn College, at Brooklyn College of Pharmacy.

Moreno: Why did you stop?

Norton: Because I did not like pharmacy and because my father rushed me into it.

Moreno: What about Morton? How much education did he have?

Norton: I don't know what education Morty had. But he always assumed that I was a college graduate; I kept talking about being a high school graduate.

Moreno: What education did the man have who handed you the paper?

Norton: He looked as if he had had a higher education of some sort by the way he handled himself and his work; he seemed to have had some college education.

Moreno: What about the other co-workers?

Norton: They were high school graduates; there was one who was a Negro and going to college at night; and a fellow who walked with a cane who had a deformity. He was going to City College Business School.

Moreno: I would like now to make a statement and finish the group part of the session, and explain to you what kind of a process you were undergoing. You remember that when you came in you were handed a blank and we asked you to fill it in. It dealt first with your acquaintance with people here and then with your work, and also whom you would like to choose to have a confidential talk with about a work problem, etc. On the basis of this we immediately could draw a rough acquaintance diagram and a sociogram and obtain a picture of the structure of this group.

During the session I have been careful to divide my time equally between two groups, sitting right and left of the aisle, in about equal numbers. On the one hand, I have conducted interviews with two members of the audience, and on the other I have worked with Norton.

Our intention was to study the resourcefulness of interview as compared with psychodramatic role techniques, their accuracy, depth and range of information. In order to accomplish this I tried to give the same amount of time to the interview section of the audience (the two interviewees, audience members 3 and 5) as to the psychodramatic section (audience member 2 and auxiliary egos). At the beginning of the session we did not know which would be the interview half and which the psychodramatic half, on the right side of the aisle or on

the left of the audience. You decided this when you chose the topic "the man who gets fired" to be represented on the stage; it is often useful for the warm up to let the proponent of a topic be also its protagonist. In this case it was Norton. We know from experience that the proponent of a topic has some personal involvement with the subject matter, particularly that he is ready for a work-out at the time of the proposal, now and here. This is then a short-cut; he starts the ball rolling for the rest of the audience and draws into participation those who are similarly involved in the topic. The proponent of a topic and the role playing protagonist is not always the same individual. He may be helpful as a starter but we frequently use different individuals to be the role players. The first role player is succeeded by as many in the audience as have experienced versions of this same problem. Working with two techniques simultaneously puts an additional strain on the conductor of the session. It may not have been noticed by you but whenever the interview time was just beginning I looked encouragingly at the members of the interview audience to arouse their participation; but when the time came to an end I looked the other way, at the role playing part of the audience, engaging some of the auxiliary egos to work with Norton, or engaging Norton himself. Some of the potential interviewees may have been left out of participation but on the other hand some role players may have been left out; I tried to do both parts an equal injustice.

We have recorded these processes and will analyze the data and compare role playing techniques, configurational aspects, techniques of recall with interview technique and where there are definite advantages for each one. We will analyze this material and send you each a copy, and it will also be published. Of course, we will not use original names and localities. In this field no control study actually exists; we will analyze this material and see what we will get. After we have analyzed this maybe we will meet again. I don't want to tell you what will happen then but it would be a second step in the training, to understand group processes better and how much such understanding is of value to administrative and personnel people. I did not know the subjects and I did not know you. I am, so to speak, like a doctor who sees a patient for the first time; here I am a social doctor examining and testing you as a group, just as there is a physical doctor who examines an individual. I want also to thank you for your courtesy and cooperation. I further wonder whether the position in the group had a relationship to the number of words spoken including myself. I spoke a lot more than other members of the group.

(Audience laughter)

That would be something worthwhile knowing for obtaining clues: how much did I speak and how much did the protagonist speak and the people who have any position in the sociograms. We would also like to hear from you and to have your comments on the production. But, before you leave, please make another choice as to whom you would

SUMMARY TABLE

| Acquaintance Diagram | | Sociogram I | | Sociogram II | | | | | |
| | | | | Same Choice as I | | Persons Dropped | | Persons Added | |
Person Number	Acquaintances Reported	Acquaintances	Not Acquaintances	Acq.	Not Acq.	Acq.	Not Acq.	Acq.	Not Acq.
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	3	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	5	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
6	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
7	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
8	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
9	2	1	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
13	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
14	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
15	4	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
16	4	3	1	3	1	0	0	0	0
17	4	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0
18	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
19	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
22	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
24	5	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	73	22	9	16	6	5	1	1	10

like to have as a counselor and confidante now, after the session; the forms are being passed out. We will consider the stimulus which came from the session and to what extent it reflects in a change of the choices for a guide or counselor in the problem situation.

SOME THEORETICAL AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE PRODUCTION

We have been trying to maintain the diagnostic aspect of this socio-drama although the therapeutic impact cannot be avoided. The thing we have to do therefore is to be aware of it and try to assess and measure the therapeutic effect. Our focus is in this session on research and diag-nostic procedure whereas in other cases our focus is on therapeutic procedure. In reality, however, social diagnosis and therapy merge into one another, they cannot be strictly separated.

We have to differentiate (a) the direct and tangible evidence emerging from a session from (b) the unconscious hypotheses projected into the construction and direction of the session (what the conductor and his staff want to show and prove, what the audience participants want to experience and learn), and (c) the interpretations of the session material. By direct evidence we mean—the people present, their social roles, the actions and interactions on the stage or in the audience, the volume of words spoken in each dialogue, the duration of the total session, the duration of acts and pauses in the course of role playing, etc. As means of recording we used a wire recorder, an action observer recording movements and gestures, ques-tionnaires, acquaintance and sociograms.

Audience laughter is a significant part of the session, its volume can be assessed in the play back, its duration, tone characteristics and spread among the members. Significant are often the events which precipitate laughter, at what moments in the session it occurs and who among the members of the audience participate in a wave of laughter and who don't. From a sociometric point of view one can observe two types of laughter, one type produced by (a) collective stimuli, standardized jokes, slangy remarks emerging spontaneously in the right moment; then everybody is inclined to join in the laughter, and (b) private stimuli, jokes or remarks which have an amusing connotation only for the people who know the protagonist intimately or who are involved in a similar problem. I have frequently pointed out that there is a cleavage within the psycho-social networks between collective and private networks.[3] Using participation in laughter as a criterion one can draw a series of sociograms in the course

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[3] See *Who Shall Survive?*, p. 244.

of the session, each showing who joins in an outburst of laughter and who does not, the one who laughs first and the ones who laugh loudest and longest. In the present session laughter is recorded as provoked by the director six times, five times by the protagonist and once by an audience member. Seventy per cent of the total volume of laughter was recorded in the first twenty minutes of the session. It is frequently observed that people laugh particularly in the beginning of sessions; the unusually spontaneous character which they have, the impromptu remarks and gestures of the director and protagonist, the abreactions and interabreactions on the stage, the exhibitionistic side-plays take the onlookers by surprise. As the production goes on and the involvement of the protagonist and audience grow laughter gradually vanishes. Actors and audience become increasingly serious and tense.

Another significant aspect is the *warm up*. In this session the participants were entirely unprepared, in other cases they may be warmed up in advance as to the problem to be worked out. They may come to the session either with an overheated or a negative attitude which may influence the conduct of the session considerably. Then there is the warm up which takes place within the first few minutes of the session. The approach of the director may vary from director to director; it is what I often call the "bedside manner of the sociodramatist or group psychotherapist". The form which the warm up takes may come from the director or from the group itself. In this session we used the voting method, letting the group determine the topic and the protagonist. In other sociodrama sessions the audience may come with a problem which they have already formulated in advance. In other cases one member of the audience after another begins to talk and suddenly a large number of participants cluster around a problem.[4] You may have noticed that Norton was the first one to present a topic. It was apparent that he came to the session with the intention to act and to act out his own problem. There were a few in this audience who came with the intention just to look on, by no means to act. We find in audiences several types of participants, (a) those who want to act (an extreme case is the exhibitionist), (b) those who are anxious to see (the extreme case is the voyeur), (c) those who want to "analyze", (d) those who would like to be in the place of the director and if they cannot then they will at least analyze or criticize him, and (e) those who like to act and discuss as long as it is not their own problem.

Another significant aspect in sociodrama as well as in psychodrama ses-

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4 See James Enneis' paper in *Group Psychotherapy*, Volume 4, No. 1.

sions is the *"bodily contact"*. Whereas in other forms of diagnosis and therapy body contact is unnecessary it was natural to psychodrama and role playing from their very inception that the director, the auxiliary egos and the protagonist would enter occasionally not only into verbal but also into bodily contact. How far to go with bodily contact requires a special skill and training. Properly applied it aids the warm up and it brings the process of reality testing to a climax. The director in "taking Norton by the hand" brings about a quicker rapport than words could. The "feeling of a hand" may tell the director whether a protagonist is willing to act or whether he resists.

Norton began to *fall out of the role* frequently at the time when the situation became tense for him; he had to expose the fact that he had been mentally ill. Falling out of the role is often, as here, a diagnostic clue for insecurity in a given situation.

Analysis of the Acquaintance Diagram and the Sociograms

In the Acquaintance Diagram persons 1, 12, and 20 did not report acquaintances nor were they reported as acquaintances. Person 21 was not reported as an acquaintance by any of the session members, but he listed being acquainted with one person present.

Aside from persons 1, 12, and 20, who may be considered as acquaintance isolates, there existed two discrete groups according to the reports. The smaller group consisted of persons 13, 14, 19, 25, and 26, and the larger group consisted of the remainder of the session members. Person 17 serves as the focus of acquaintanceship for the larger group. Persons 2, 3, 4, 11, and 22 form a distinct subgroup with connections to the larger group converging exclusively on person 17. Persons 7, 8, 15, 16, and 18 form another subgroup with connections to the larger group through the acquaintance of person 17 to person 18, and through the acquaintance between persons 8 and 10. Persons 8, 9, and 10 may be considered as another subgroup, with persons 8 and 10 each having a position in an additional subgroup. Persons 5, 6, 10, 17, 23, and 24 represent the last major subgroup of the larger group.

In Sociogram I, persons 1, 4, 12, and 20 are isolates, i.e., do not choose and are not chosen. Persons 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 22, 23, and 24 are not chosen. Person 17 is the primary focus of choice, being chosen eight times. Person 6 is chosen six times and person 8 is chosen five times, and persons 21 and 18 are chosen three times each. Mutual choices occur between persons 5 and 6, 8 and 15, and 15 and 16.
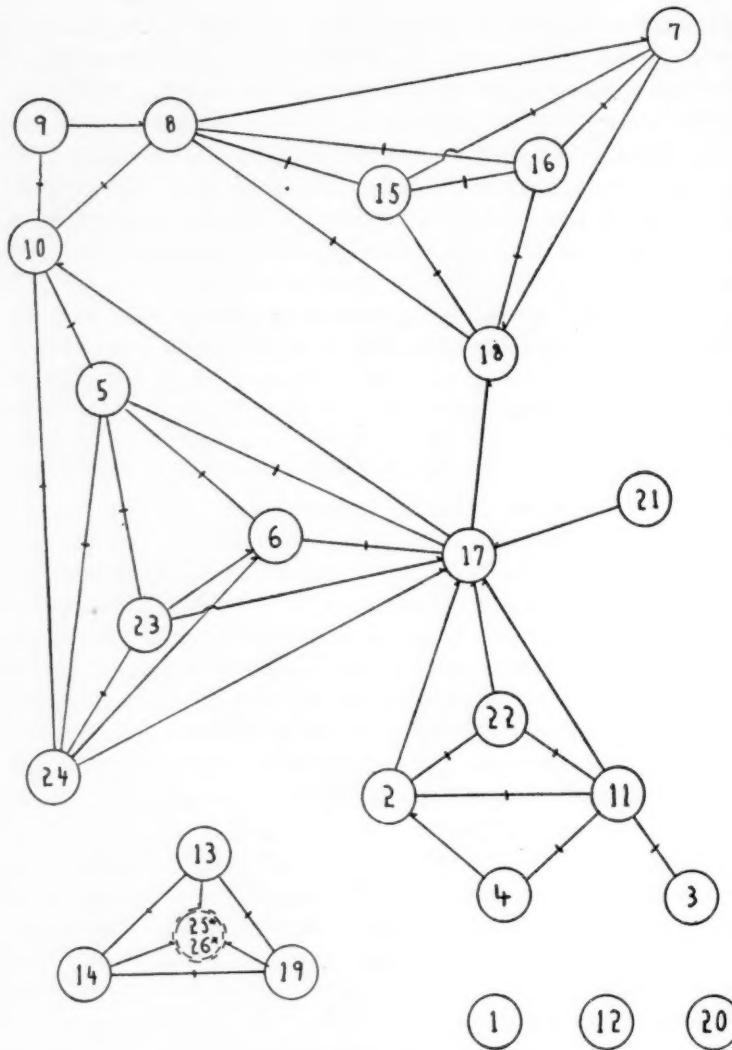
ACQUAINTANCE DIAGRAM
Instructions: List all persons present at the session with whom you are acquainted.
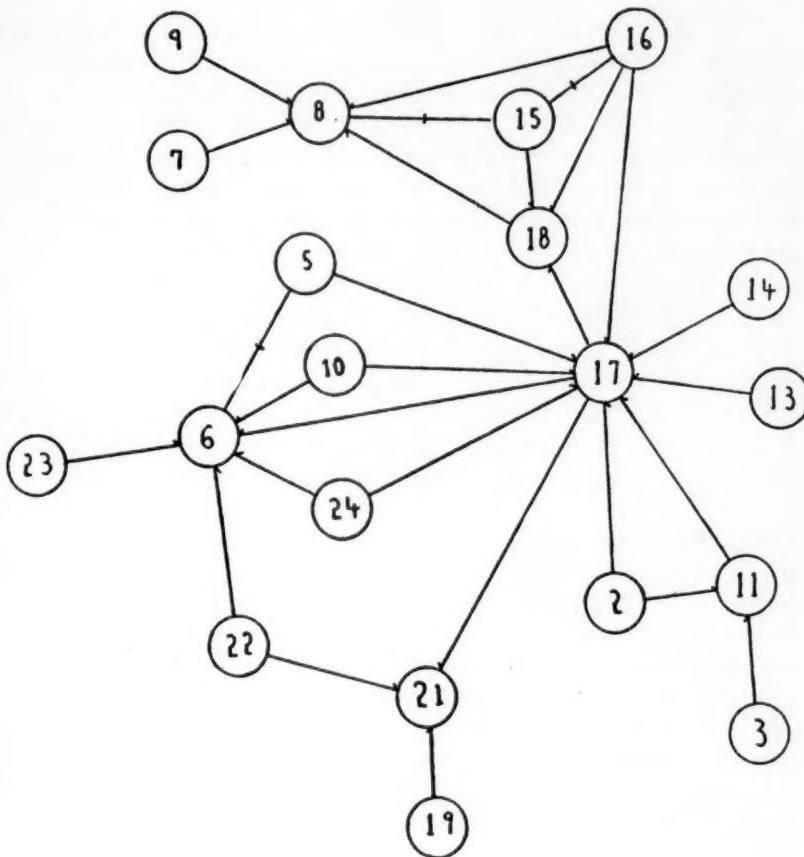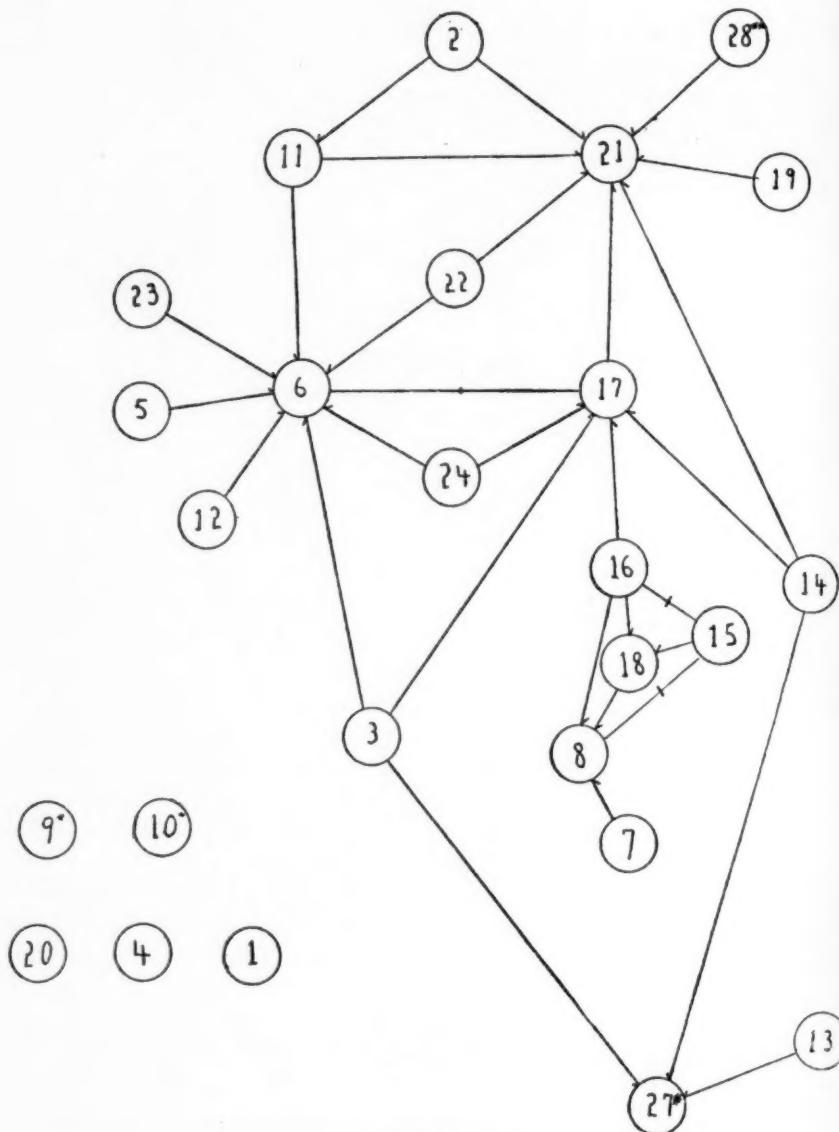
SOCIOGRAM I

Criterion: In regard to a work situation in which you must make a decision, with which person(s) present would you like to consult?

Of the 31 choices exhibited among the session members, 22 were directed to acquaintances and 9 to non-acquaintances. Since only nine of the 24 persons were chosen, it may be assumed that certain strong influences, such as reputation in the field, served as elective factors. While this is true, it is notable that the acquaintance subgroup consisting of persons 7, 8, 15,

SOCIOGRAM II

Criterion: Now that you have participated in the session: In regard to a work situation in which you must make a decision, with which person(s) present would you like to consult?

‡The director did not participate in the sociograms.

*Numbers 9 and 10 did not participate in the second sociogram.

**Number 28 was a late arrival and participated only in the second sociogram.

16, and 18 maintains its form when tested by the criterion of choice.

Eleven persons chose only among their acquaintances, five persons chose only non-acquaintances, three persons chose both acquaintances and non-acquaintances, and five persons made no choices at all.

Of the 33 choices in Sociogram II, 22 were the same as in Sociogram I, 6 choices were dropped, and 11 new choices were made. Of the 6 dropped choices, 5 were among acquaintances and only one was a non-acquaintance. Of the 11 added choices, 10 were among non-acquaintances, and only one was an acquaintance.

Persons 6, 17, and 21 were main participants in the discussion period. Person 6 is most chosen after the session, having eight choices. Person 21, who still chooses no one, is also in a more favorable position, being chosen seven times. Person 17 has faded as a star, but still is chosen five times. Persons 7, 8, 15, 16, and 18 maintain the same pattern of choice as in the first sociogram. Person 27, the director, who did not participate in either sociogram, is chosen three times.

In sociogram II, eight persons chose only among their acquaintances, eight persons chose only non-acquaintances, three persons chose both acquaintances and non-acquaintances, and four persons made no choices at all.

It is notable that person 12, the protagonist of the session, is unchosen even at the end of the session. Number 12, however, is no longer an isolate. The auxiliaries who worked with the protagonist on the stage maintained their respective positions in terms of the sociograms. The interview respondents, who were unchosen in the first sociogram, continued as unchosen in the second sociogram. One interview respondent, however, made two additional choices in the second sociogram.

In the analysis of the session it becomes obvious that the session members establish norms for the judgment and advisement of the protagonist, and more generally, for what is to be considered good personnel policy. The sociograms indicate that at the same time, the session members are also establishing norms of judgment for the good social analyst, or more specifically, the good consultant. The analysis of the session tends to corroborate this conclusion. The most chosen persons, 6, 21, and 17, have different approaches from the rest of the session members as seen in the complete transcript of the session. These persons do not merely ask questions or make comments; their part in the discussion is typified by systematic statements set in well defined frame works, with questions based on their respective statements. At the same time, it is to be noted that these same persons were those most adept in the proper techniques for presentation.

When recognized by the director, each stood, faced the larger part of the audience, and controlled the audience while holding the floor.

PARTIAL ANALYSIS OF THE SESSION

As the title of this section implies, we do not endeavor here to give a complete analysis of the session. It should be noticed that the psychodramatic and sociodramatic sessions have a cumulative content. The director edits the production as it proceeds, and taking the cues and clues from the production itself as it involves the protagonist, he may focus the production to become more and more specific. Information which is elicited serves as the basis for the continuation of the production, and as information is accumulated, the director is able to judiciously select the more important scenes to be portrayed. Each scene progressively provides more information which may be focused in interview.

In the *interviews* with the two audience members there is merely the reporting of feeling. Only persons who have been in similar situations can really identify with the situations recounted. Very little is known of the attitudes of the other persons involved, or the operation of policy, etc. We have no real knowledge of whether dismissals are personal matters involving the personality of the interviewee, or whether it is a problem of surplus personnel, elimination of positions, etc.

In the *psychodramatic situation*, however, it becomes evident that the problem has many ramifications. There is the problem of Norton as the maladjusted person, speaking out of turn and too much. On the stage it could be seen that Norton was not a person who can be characterized as energetic, industrious, or direct. Rather, it became obvious that he is slow and confused. Here we did not have to ask Norton how he worked. We could watch him in operation. We did not have to ask Norton how he felt. We could watch him, identify with his problems, and become aware of his feelings. At the same time, we were introduced to the structure of the organization which fired Norton. We were introduced to the people with whom he worked. We became involved with Norton and his problem, but at the same time we are able to remain objective. The prejudices of the company are evident, and they are understandable in the context of the definition of community values. We observe the policy of the company, and while as individuals we may not condone it, we may realize the "why" of what has happened.

The efficiency of the psychodramatic procedure is borne out in an interesting way in this particular session. Without building stereotypes, it

should be noted that it is possible to make judgments about personality types. Watching Norton on the stage, acting as Norton and being Norton, two trained members of the audience observed that Norton acted "like a mental patient." Speaking with Norton, or interviewing him, might not provide the opportunity for such accurate observation.

Such a session as this is preliminary and suggestive. Here we controlled the factor of time, giving equal attention to the interview of two audience members and the psychodramatic session with Norton. Unfortunately the topic chosen by the audience was not of a nature where more persons of the audience could be made to participate as protagonists. This type of study remains to be repeated.

Still, it may be seen in such a procedure that the sociometric approaches can identify the problems of the individual worker, not only in the impersonal terms of a category such as "maladjusted," but also in the terms which are real to the person. We do not only identify the problem of the worker, but we also begin to identify some of the problems of the industrial concern. While most of the session members present felt sympathy for Norton, there was, even with the recognition that the personnel policy of the P.W. stores is not the most enlightened, an understanding of the circumstances which would lead the firm to dismiss Norton.

Probably the most notable contribution that a session of this sort makes is in making evident the possibilities for the further application of the techniques. The psychodramatic work here centered around Norton, a worker with a specific set of problems. What problems exist for the foreman, the junior supervisor, the supervisor, the junior executive, the executive, etc.? Norton is one case, and we learn a great deal from him, but we must study many workers, many executives, etc., in their social contexts to begin to really understand the dynamics of group structuring. We must learn to distinguish between aspects of personality which are associated with the statuses a person holds, and those aspects of personality which make the person in the status unique.

A further implication to be investigated is in the process of establishment of the norms of judgment and conformity which is evidenced in the production. These norms did not only refer to the individual, Norton, but also to the situation in which he was found. The group judgment concerned itself with what is proper procedure for selection of personnel. Equally important, in the procedure we not only found the limitations of the person in the job, but we also began to explore the limitation of the job, and the structure in which the job is found.

What is especially to be noted in the presentation and in the analysis is that the divergence of interests mentioned in the introduction of this paper, those of "management" and those of the "worker" lose their discreteness. The approach lends itself to the analysis of the system in which these operate, and thus, for the treatment of both simultaneously rather than as unified entities which stand independent of each other.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The experimental design constructed in this sociodrama session has strong and weak points. One strong point is that the experimental group (the role playing portion) and the control group (the interview portion) are processed simultaneously and within the same setting. There is certainty here that the conditions and the stimuli to which they are exposed are for both groups identical. A weak point is that the conductor of the role playing part and the interview part is one and the same person. He may have a bias in favor or disfavor of either of the two techniques he is applying. His bias might have influenced the course and results of the production. Unless it is proven that a conductor is trained in both skills and if it is certain that his scientific curiosity is greater than his bias it is of advantage that the role of the psychodramatic director and that of the interviewer are assigned to two different individuals.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A QUARTERLY FRENCH BULLETIN

Beginning with *Sociometry*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, every issue will contain a four page bulletin in French reporting the activities of the "Laboratoire d'Experimentation Sociometrique et Psycho-Sociologique". The Bulletin will be edited by the Scientific Committee of the Laboratory.

NEW CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

We take pleasure in announcing that Dr. Wellman J. Warner, Chairman, Department of Sociology, New York University, School of Liberal Arts, and Dr. Muzafer Sherif, Department of Psychology, University of Oklahoma, have joined our Editorial Staff. Both Editors will have a contribution in the forthcoming issue of this journal.

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